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AMUNCLAE A SERPENTIBUS DELETAE

LEAVING Tarracina and going toward Fundi, after having walked the via Appia for four miles, between the skirts of Mount Giusto and the banks of the river Canneto, you come to one of the issues of the large lake, Fundanus, formed by the numerous streams which drain the ample valley surrounding it. This lake in ancient times must have occupied a much wider territory than at present and must have had much more active and direct communication with the sea. The region, which will shortly be traversed by a railroad, destined to make it once more, as in the past, the route of more rapid communication between Rome and Naples, is now infected with deadly malaria and has for many scores of years been avoided by those travellers who, from Latium, venture as far as the coasts of Campania. Yet this same region was famous in the Roman era for the fertility of its plains, which, though of a swampy nature, yielded the renowned vines which produced the Caecuban wine. Likewise, as is proved by the conspicuous ruins of funerary monuments along the via Appia, and as is indicated by the story of Speluncae (now Sperlonga), where Tiberius came so near to losing his life, it was one of the favorite spots among the great and wealthy of Rome.[1] Here, too, near the lake of Fundi, is said to have flourished the city of Amyclae or Amunclae, whose disappearance gave rise to the strangest and most startling stories.[2]

[1] Tacitus, *Annals*, IV. 59; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 39; *cf.* Strabo, V. 233 C. From passages in Strabo, *loc. cit.*; Pliny, *Natural History*, XIV. 52, 65; Athenaeus, *Epitome*, I. 27; Martial, XII. 17 (*cf.* XIII. 115), it is demonstrated that the *Fundana vina* were distinct from the *Caecubum*. Moreover Pliny says that even before his time the vines of the *ager Caecubus*, supported on poplar trees planted in this swampy region, had become no longer as famous as they had once been. *Cf.* Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXIII. 35.

[2] Isigonus Nicaensis, frag. 17, in Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, IV., p. 437: *λιμὴν εἶναι* Μυκλαίαν *καλουμένην καὶ παρ' αὐτῇ πόλιν ἔρημον, ἐς τοὺς ἐναλοκοίνητας στερηθῆναι τῆς πόλεως διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὄφεων.*

Amunclae, it seems, was a city founded by the Laconians led by Castor and Pollux, the two splendid divinities of Sparta. They were joined by Glaucus son of Minos, from Crete, who, it would seem, fraternized with the natives of the place. The Laconians belonged to the Pythagorean sect, which forbade the slaying of animals; consequently the founders of the town, being averse to killing the snakes which infested the surrounding swamps, were exposed to their deadly bites.[3] By means of this tale was explained the proverbial phrase *tacitae Amyclae*, recorded in Lucilius, Cicero, and Vergil. Cicero, however, adopted a quite different explanation from this. According to him the inhabitants of Amyclae had perished through a lack of courage, enduring offenses from their enemies without resistance and, in fact, in perfect silence. According to the ancient commentators the version of Lucilius, alluded to with the quotation: *Nam scio Amyclas tacendo perisse*,[4] was quite similar to that of the Roman orator. The version which was supposed to have been known to Lucilius was the following: It was said that the inhabitants of Amyclae frequently received false reports of the approach of the enemy, whereupon, growing tired of being so often frightened to no purpose, they promulgated a law by which such announcements were forbidden. But one fine day, it seems, the enemy actually came, and, as no one dared to warn the imprudent people, they fell into the power of their assailants and were slain.[5]

It has been suggested that the story of the Italian Amyclae or Amunclae, inasmuch as the town was founded by Laconians, may very probably have been a repetition and translation of what had already been related concerning Amyclae in Laconia, which, after many long wars, fell in the time of King Teleclos into the hands of the Spartans.[6] The fact that in other places near Amyclae Spartan pioneers settled in ancient times goes far to support this hypothesis. Caieta (now Gaeta), according to the source of Strabo, was so named by the Laconians, who, in their language, called any

[3] Servius *ad Aeneid.* X. 564.

[4] Cicero and Lucilius *apud* Serv. *ad loc.*

[5] Servius, *loc. cit.*; Varro *apud* Plin. *Nat. Hist.*, VIII. 104: "in Italia Amynclas a serpentibus deletas" (*cf. ibid.*, III. 59); Solinus, II. 32. Isigonus (see note 2) says that the Amynclaeans were deprived of their own city διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑδρων. It has been conjectured, however, that the words πλῆθος τῶν ὑδρων are to be corrected into τῶν ὄφεων.

[6] The Greek origin of this tale is sustained, for instance, by Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, II., p. 658. On the other hand, the Roman character of the proverb on Amunclae was pointed out by Otto, *Römische Sprichwörter*, 103. *Cf.* Hirschfeld in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft, sub voce.*

concavity **καιέται**. Formiae, also, must have been a colony belonging to the same people, and its Laconian name, Ὅρμια (Hormiae), was given to it on account of its good landing. We have no other hint concerning the formation of Spartan or Laconian colonies in Italy except at Tarentum.[7] For Amyclae, Caieta, and Formiae, we are left to depend upon historical reconstructions based upon analogy of names and upon grammatical etymologies.

The mention, moreover, of the Pythagorean sect to which the founders of Amyclae, led by the Dioscuri, belonged, puts us easily in the way of discovering the origin of these curious tales. Tarentum, as is well known, after the disappearance of Pythagoras and the persecution of the Pythagoreans, became the citadel of their doctrines; and in the fourth century B. C., the Aristotelian philosopher Aristoxenos of Tarentum, speaking of the natives of Italy who had become followers of Pythagoras, mentioned the Messapii, the Lucani, and the Romans.[8] And this statement is confirmed by the story of King Numa, who, in spite of the nearly two hundred years which must have elapsed between him and the Samian philosopher, was made his disciple in the same manner as the Laconians at Amyclae in the times of the Dioscuri and Glaucus.

It is not necessary, however, to seek in Aristoxenos for the localization of the myth of the Dioscuri in the Italian Amunclae; one may quite as well consider writers who have followed the same directions and criteria. We find mentioned, for instance, and located on the borders of the Pomptine marshes and hard by the boundaries of the region of which we are speaking, Metabus, lord of Privernum and father of the virgin Camilla, and also the swamp, Satura.[9] Now it is evident that Metabus is but the localization of the Messapian hero, of whom we find another localization in the Latin Messapus, sung by Vergil. And as for the *atra palus Saturae*, also celebrated by the Mantuan poet, the Hellenization of the indigenous name, *Astura*, is quite evident. It is altogether easy, in fact, to recognize in the swamp Satura the port Saturium, near Tarentum, which received its name from Satura, the nymph beloved by Neptune, who

[7] Strabo, V. 233 C; *cf.* Paulus Diaconus, *Epitome of Festus*, 83 M. *s. v.*; Serv. *ad Aeneid.* VII. 695. The modern name of Mola di Gaeta means, as I learned on the very spot, the mill of Gaeta. In our day the town has again been christened Formiae.

[8] Aristoxenos, frag. 5, in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Grace.*, II., p. 273. For a discussion of this entire question see my *Storia di Roma*, I. 1, pp. 16 ff., 287 ff.

[9] The Vergilian myth of Metabus, father of Camilla, is already found in Cato *apud* Serv. *ad Aen.* XI. 567. Servius, perhaps, like Vergil, had his Ennius before him; that is to say, Cato's master and friend.

was the protector of the city.[10] The Italian name, *Astura*, was made Hellenic by a Tarentine writer, just as *Amunclae* was Hellenized into *Amyclae*. In the same way the name of the neighboring town of *Sinuessa* was changed to the Greek name Sinops.[11] Among the writers of Magna Graecia who were most successful in transplanting the myths of their fatherland to Latin and Italian soil may be mentioned Livius Andronicus, Pacuvius, and Naevius; but foremost and most efficacious among them was the Messapian, Ennius, who, born near Tarentum, was so imbued with the culture of that town as to be considered a Tarentine. This fact may well lead us to suppose that, even before Lucilius and Strabo, Ennius must have known of the localization of the Laconian and Messapian heroes at Privernum, Astura, Amyclae, Caieta, and Formiae.

But it is useless to linger on hypotheses which reveal the truth in only a very general way. Rather we shall find it advantageous to consider the Greek character of the story and its probable Tarentine origin, and to try to discover which among the legendary tales concerning the end of Amunclae is the most ancient and the least mingled with fable, and which contains some kind of historical nucleus. I say historical nucleus, because no critic, however skeptical, would be justified in asserting that Amunclae is the pure fancy of grammarians or antiquaries, or that the name of the sea, of the gulf, and of the Amunclani mountains is not derived from a city of such a name. Certainly there must have been a time when these shores were dangerous for Greek navigators and commerce;[12] and, if in the eighth century, B. C., Circe and the Laestrygonians were localized in the region of Monte Circello, that proves that the Chalcidian navigators of Cumae and Regium dared not venture too freely on the Auruncian, Volscian, and Latin shores, where Graius and Latinus were supposed to be Circe's sons, and where Agrius and Latinus, according to Hesiod, were masters of the splendid Tyrrhenians. But the Phocaean navigators from Velia to Massalia and

[10] Vergil, *Aeneid*, VII. 801; *cf.* Serv. *ad loc.*: "alii 'Asturae' legunt quod si est paludem pro flumine posuit, nam haud longe a Terracina oppidum est Astura et cognominis fluvius."

[11] The form *Amunclae* is used, for instance, by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, III. 59, alongside that of *Amynclae*, whereas VIII. 104 has *Amynclas*. Ἀμυκλαιος is given by Athenaeus, III. 121 a. The best MSS. of Tacitus, *Ann.* IV. 59, have *Amunclanus*. Solinus, II. 32, reverses the real order of the transition from the one name to the other, where he says: "Amunclas quas Amyclas ante Graeci condiderant." With regard to the substitution of Sinops for Sinuessa, see Livy, X. 21; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, III. 59.

[12] Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, II. 13; Horace, *Ode*, III. 17, 1 ss.; *cf.* Pais, *Storia della Sicilia e della Magna Grecia*, I., p. 258.

from Massalia returning to the Aegean Sea could not have helped, as they coasted the Italian shores, stopping also on the coasts of the gulfs of Caieta and Fundi. Those who stopped at Circeii and at Antium, at the mouth of the river on which rose the temple of Satricum (Conca), evidently did not avoid the extended and fertile shore which was to become famous for the Caecuban vine.[13] Nor can we suppose that these shores were left untouched by the active navigators of the Greek cities of Campania, especially Cumae, which, at the end of the sixth century and the beginning of the fifth, had political relations with the people on the coast of Latium. That this must have been so is shown by the story of Aristodemus Malacus and of Aricia in the time of the Etruscan invasions. There is no reason, however, for disbelieving in the existence of Amunclae, or for rejecting without investigation the account of its sudden disappearance.

It is not now a question of discussing either of the stories of the destruction of Amunclae, whether the result of the laziness of the silent citizens, or due to the bite of the serpents, which the faithful keepers of the Pythagorean doctrines would not take measures to prevent.[14] The first of these traditions, perhaps, as we have already said, a translation of a Greek story regarding the Peloponnesian Amyclae, we have no means of reconstructing with precision. The second is a foolish idea of those who insisted in finding in the well-known Pythagorean silence the explanation of a pre-existing proverb. On the whole, however, while the most recent tradition speaks of snakes, the other and more probable tells of wars brought on by hostile peoples. How serpents should have been substituted for men in the story may be readily understood when we consider that to the Latin *serpentes* corresponds the Greek word **Ὄφεις**. Now from Hesychius and from Stephen of Byzantium we learn that some people, instead of saying *Opici*, pronounced **Ὄφικοί**, and that

[13] It is hardly necessary to mention the passage of Herodotus, I. 167, where it is said that the Phocaeans were the first to navigate the Adriatic and the Tyrrhenian seas. In regard to the travels of the Massiliots to Rome, see Justinus, XLIII. 3, 5, and regarding the travels of the Massiliots to Athens, see Demosthenes, *πρὸς Ζηνόθεμιν*, 883 (4, 5). Concerning the mouths of the Tiber, and Antium and Circeii, the chief stations of the Greek navigators along the shores of Italy, see Pseudo-Scylax, 4 ss. The results of the excavations at Conca (Satricum) are given in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1896, pp. 23, 69, 99, 167, 190; 1898, p. 166.

[14] Solinus, II. 32, who probably draws his material from such a source as Varro, speaking of the snakes of Amunclae, relates these particulars: "illic frequens vipera insanabili morsu braevior haec ceteris quas in aliis advertimus orbis partibus ac propterea, dum despectui est, facilius nocet."

the *Osci* were called thus **ἀπὸ τῶν ὄφεων.**[15] Joannes Lydus, in his turn, informs us that **ὀφφικίζειν** meant to speak the Oscan language.[16] The simultaneous existence of the forms *Samnites* and *Saunites*, *Sabini* and *Sapini*, to indicate people of the same origin, explains to us how near to the forms *Opicoi* and *Osci* may be that of **Ὀφικοί.** The question whether the cult of the snakes, which is characteristic not only of various Italic races of Oscan origin, like the Marsi, but also of many other primitive races, both ancient and modern, may have given rise to this designation and form, this we leave for students of primitive religions to consider. It is nevertheless a well-established fact that in the cult of the *hirpus*, of the bull, and of the *picus* is to be found the origin of the names *Hirpini*, *Itali*, and *Piceni*.[17] For one part we find it important only to establish that the exchange between **Ὀπικοί** and **Ὄφεις** gave birth to the legend of the serpents, a legend known to Isigonus of Nicaea, and already accepted by Varro, among Latin authors, and afterwards repeated by the writers who profited more or less directly by the writings of this Roman *Polyhistor*.[18]

If, then, we discard the snakes and the virtues of the Pythagoreans who preferred to be bitten rather than kill them, there remain the Opici, the enemies of Amunclae. There remain, that is to say, the Ausones, a people of Oscan origin who really inhabited the mountains above the plains of Fundi, and above the *ager Caecubus* and the swamps near which the town of Amunclae rose. That Amunclae should have been destroyed by Oscan people may well be admitted: besides, there is the tradition, well known to Vergil, of the hero Camers, the son of Volceus and master of most extensive lands—

qui fuit Ausonidum et tacitis regnavit Amyclis.[19]

Nor does the view maintained by the Vergilian commentator, who knew that the Ausones, together with the Cretan Glaucus, were sup-

[15] Stephen of Byzantium, *s. v.*: Ὀπικοὶ ἔθνος Ἰταλίας . . . οἱ δὲ ὅτι Ὀφικοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὄφεων. *Cf.* Hesychius, *s. v.*

[16] Lydus, *De Mensibus*, I. 13, says, regarding Laurentum, that it was held by some to be an Opic city, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὀπικίζειν, καὶ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ὀφικίζειν τὸ βαρβαρίζειν Ἰταλοὶ λέγουσιν. *Cf.* Cato *apud* Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXIX. 14.

[17] The cult of the snakes among the Marsi, who charmed them, is well known. See the material gathered by Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, II., p. 454. If I am not mistaken the coins of the Peligni hint at the cult of snakes. See Garrucci, *Monete dell' Italia Antica*, tav. 72, no. 28 ss.

[18] In regard to Isigonus, source to Varro, and the most ancient sources of Isigonus himself, see Susemihl, *Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, I., p. 480.

[19] Vergil, *Aeneid*, X. 564.

posed to have founded our town, disagree with this interpretation. But putting aside mythical names and circumstances, it is well known that the mixing and fusion of indigenous populations with foreigners has been quite characteristic of many colonies, both ancient and modern. The story which Thucydides tells, for example—to keep within the limits of Greek colonization—regarding the Greek founders of the Hyblaean Megara and the Sicels who showed them the seat of their new city, leads us to infer that there was such a fusion.[20] Thus it was that Hellenes and Oscans lived in community at Cumae.[21] Thus, later, Greeks and Samnites lived together at Neapolis and Parthenope.[22] In the times of Ducetius the new generations of Sicels, who had been civilized by contact with the Greeks, and had become also more numerous and more daring, attempted to supplant their masters, or at least to free themselves from oppression. Likewise new generations of Sabellic stock endeavored to overpower their kinsmen at Capua and Arpi, where indigenous elements lived in community with the Greeks.[23] Similarly, in the case of Amunclae, it is easily understood how the people who dwelt round about upon the ramparts of the Apennines, or those who had penetrated thither from the valley of the Trerus and the Liris, must have swooped down upon the city of the plain, which had prospered above all on account of its Hellenic trade.

A simple glance at the geographic position of Amunclae is sufficient to demonstrate to us how the life of this town must have developed in consequence of those same conditions which created the flourishing Pisa, on the Etruscan coast, and Satricum, on the coast of the Volscian country. It was the very same conditions that caused the prosperity of Aquileia, Altinum, and Venice, and later of the neighboring Grado. The Amunclaean swamp, communicating with the waters of the sea and offering convenient hiding places and defenses against the attacks of the natives, must very early have favored the development of a commercial factory, and later of a real town; just as the swamp sacred to the nymph, Marica, at the mouth of the Liris or Glanis, gave life to Minturnae. It is also probable that in ancient times lake Amunclanus, as Isigonus called it, or lake Fundanus, as it was later called, was much more exten-

[20] Thucydides, VI. 4.

[21] Velleius, I. 4.2: *Cumanos Osca mutavit vicinia.*

[22] Livy, VIII. 22 ss.

[23] The attempt by the Italic Sidicini to conquer the territory of Capua is well known. See Livy, VII. 29 ss. Regarding Arpi and the sea towns of Apulia, the words of Livy, IX. 13.7 (*ad circa* 320 B. C.) can be connected with the Greek coins of such cities in those times. See Head, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 37 f.

sive, perhaps double the present area. Nor does there seem to be any reason to doubt that the lakes S. Puoto and Lungo, which today are separated from lake Fondano by a plain about three miles in width, formed originally part of a single swamp. That the plain surrounding Amunclae was almost entirely occupied by this swamp, and that the ground devoted to the culture of the Caecuban vines was very restricted, is quite evident from the passage in Pliny where it is said that those vineyards had been destroyed partly through neglect of the farmers and partly by the narrowness of the ground made still narrower by the canal with which Nero purposed to join Ostia and Baiae.[24] Then again, the declaration by this same author that floating islands existed in this lake leads one to believe that there was once a deeper and more extended body of water than exists today, and that large quantities of earth have been washed into it by the rich torrents flowing down from the surrounding mountains.[25]

The progressive filling up of the swamp with earth brought down by the streams from the mountains rendered the seat of the Amunclaeans less healthy and secure. The same thing happened, as the ancients themselves observed and recorded, to other cities situated near swamps that had become malignant.[26] It is sufficient to recall that the island of Circeii became a peninsula,[27] and that the same conditions were repeated on the shores of the Adriatic. Salapia, which had become unhealthy in the times of the free Roman republic, transported itself a distance of four miles inland.[28] Nor is it to be forgotten how, on these very same coasts, Sipontum and then Manfredonia struggled in vain against these same topographic conditions. When Amunclae became a prey of the neighbors who had come down from the mountains, it had to be abandoned for the same reasons that led to the abandonment of the palisades at the estuary of the Sarnus, not far from the region where as early as the fifth century, at least, Pompeii and Nuceria arose. For the destroyed Amunclae, Fundi was substituted. The new city was naturally built in a dryer region, and, being built by the conquerors, who

[24] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XIV. 61.

[25] *Ibid.*, II. 209. In regard to floating islands in the different lakes of ancient Italy (for example, the lakes of Cutiliae and Vadimonis), a research of scientific character is still lacking, but there is no reason to doubt what even today many conscientious observers in different regions of the world have noted.

[26] Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, I. 4.12. In regard to the twenty-four cities existing in the Pomptine marshes, see Mucianus *apud* Plin. *Nat. Hist.*, III. 59.

[27] Theophrastus, *De Historia Plantarum*, V. 8.3, *et apud* Plin. *N. H.*, III. 57 ss.; Varro *apud* Serv. *ad Aen.* III. 386.

[28] Vitruv. *de Arch.*, I. 4.12.

had come down from the mountains, it arose on the lower slopes of Mount Passignano. In like manner the old Minturnae, buried in swamps which are now dried up, was succeeded in the Middle Ages by the castle of Traetto, built upon a hill.

Fundi, as is well known, is one of the most noted towns of ancient Italy, thanks to the superb girdle of walls of the type called also by the ancients cyclopean. Such walls, in the eyes of the ancients, as also in ours, were in strong contrast with the more modest constructions built of smaller and more regular parallelopipeds, or with less monumental materials. Such constructions, however, do not, as is now generally known, date back to so early an age as the ancients supposed. The recent excavations at Norba —excavations begun in the hope of finding traces of the very ancient city of the so-called Pelasgians—have led to the conclusion that such works barely date back to the fifth century, while some of them belong to a still later time.[29] When the interest in this kind of study and research has increased among us, we shall some day examine the walls of Circeii, Signia, Arpinum, Aletrium, and others of the many ancient Italian fortifications: and perhaps we shall succeed in unveiling the secret of the age in which they were built. For the present we are only left to conjecture that the magnificent quadrangular wall surrounding Fundi does not belong to an age anterior to the fifth century. The possibility that the city of Amunclae may have been lost to the Greek element and to their indigenous allies about this same age is obvious. It was, in fact, in the fifth century that the Sabellic tribes of the North conquered the plain of Latium and displaced the Etruscans; while those of the South, having overpowered the Greeks of Cumae and the Etruscans of Volturnum, founded, in that century, the state of Capua.

The place where the ancient Amunclae stood has not been discovered.[30] But one day, perhaps, when excavations shall have been made, traces of the ancient town may be found in a region near the lake of Fundi. Who knows? Then, very probably, will be brought to light the ruins of palisades like those which have been found at

[29] Regarding the excavations at Norba, see the report of L. Savignoni in the Proceedings of the *Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche* (Rome, 1904), III., p. 255 ss.

[30] For more or less uncertain and even suspicious indications, see Romanelli, *Topografia Istorica del Regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1819), p. 409, who, referring to Pratilli, mentions a locality called Micano two miles from Terracina, and records also a spot named Vasche di Amicle, near the river Canneto. (Quoted by Notarianni.) *Cf.* B. Amante, *Memorie Storiche e Statutarie di Fondi* (Rome, 1903), p. 7.

Adria, those on which a more ancient Pisa rested, and those which the excavations begun by me have demonstrated to exist even in the old estuary of the Sarnus, near Pompeii.[31]

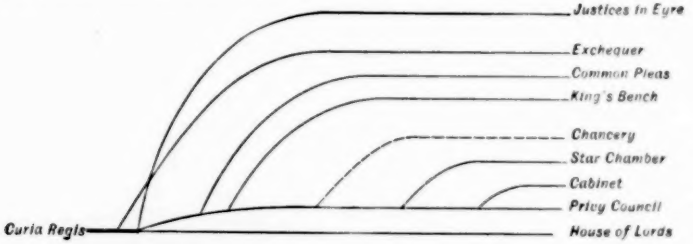
[31] As soon as the official commission which is in charge of the new excavations will print the materials sent in by me two years ago, I will discuss the palisades excavated in 1903 near the river Sarno, through my initiative and orders, and the precious Greek and Italian objects found there.

ETTORE PAÏS.

THE DESCENDANTS OF THE CURIA REGIS

THE publication by Mr. L. O. Pike of a chart of the descent of English institutions,[1] leads me to print a somewhat similar chart which I have used for a number of years past in my instruction in English constitutional history in Yale College. It may prove useful to other teachers.

It will be seen at once on comparison that Mr. Pike's chart is more complete than mine, that it contains more detail, and gives more attention to chronology.[2] My own was kept intentionally free from detail, and made to include only the larger features of the constitution in order to bring out as clearly as possible, for class room purposes, the relation of the principal modern institutions back to the *curia regis*, and the generic position which the *curia* occupies in constitutional history. From its very simplicity, I venture to think that this chart brings out graphically these points and relationships, which it is of great importance to keep in mind, more clearly than does Mr. Pike's. This is its only special value.



To understand English constitutional history, particularly the more puzzling features of it, there are two things which must be seen clearly at the beginning and never lost from sight. The first of these is the position of the *curia regis* in the feudal state—the fact that the feudal government was simple and undifferentiated and

[1] *The Public Records and the Constitution. A Lecture* (London, 1907), by Luke Owen Pike.

[2] Reference should also be made to a chart of the descent of French institutions, which has special reference to the various royal councils, published by M. Noël Valois in *Le Conseil du Roi aux XIV^e, XV^e, et XVI^e Siècles* (Paris, 1888). If I am correctly informed a chart, somewhat like Mr. Pike's, has been used in instruction in Oxford for some time. It has not been published, I believe, but it would be to the general advantage if it were.

that the general organ of that government, the organ for everything not merely local, was the *curia regis*. All those functions which we are accustomed to assign in the modern state to different institutions, or sets of officials, were exercised in the feudal state by the *curia* without consciousness of difference or any attempt at distinction. I am accustomed in my instruction to emphasize three general functions as especially defining the business of the *curia*—legislative, judicial, and conciliar.[3] The point which it is of the greatest importance to understand clearly at the start is that these three functions, which we should call distinct, were exercised without distinction by the one institution, the *curia regis*. As I have said elsewhere: "In a single session of the court, advice might be given to the king on some question of foreign policy, and on the making or revising of a law; and a suit between two of the king's vassals might be heard and decided: and no one would feel that work of different and somewhat inconsistent types had been done. One seemed as properly the function of the assembly as the other."[4]

The second fact which must never be forgotten is the existence of the *curia regis* in two forms. The fact is so peculiar according to modern ideas that it is difficult to describe it in language which is at the same time accurate and sufficient to convey an understanding of the case. The *curia regis* was constantly in session under one or the other of two forms, never at the beginning apparently under both at once. One is the great *curia regis*, called after a time *magnum concilium*, meeting occasionally only, on special summons, and composed of all tenants in chief, lay and ecclesiastical, who might be summoned, and the great officers of state and of the household, who undoubtedly in early times would all be included also among the tenants in chief. The other is the small *curia*, practically in constant session when the other was not, called, when men began to distinguish it somewhat clearly from the other, the perpetual, or ordinary council, and composed of the royal officers, and of tenants in chief who were in attendance on the king, or might happen to be at court. The point of importance and of difficulty is not the composition or the meeting of the smaller *curia*, but the fact that it was in rights, powers, and functions, the larger. It was not a committee of the larger, its powers were not vested in it by the larger, it was not responsible to the larger; it was the larger. What-

[3] For completeness, the function of the *curia* in reference to the administrative system should also be included, and Mr. Pike's chart brings out as mine does not the relation of these institutions in later times to the others which were derived from the common source.

[4] *The Political History of England*, vol. II. (1905), p. 182. See the fuller account of these institutions there given.

ever the larger might do the smaller might do, and the three functions which I have named as belonging to the *curia regis* in the feudal state were exercised by it under both forms alike.

These then are the two essential things to have clearly in mind in beginning to study the constitutional history of England: that all the functions of the state were exercised by a single institution, and that that institution existed under two forms which were distinguished from each other only by size and manner of meeting. Now the process by which the modern constitution has been formed from this simple feudal state was that of differentiation—first the setting off of a particular sort of business into a class by itself, for mere convenience sake, then the assignment of certain men belonging to the *curia* to have the special duty of looking after that class of business. So gradually a cleavage took place which after a time gave rise to a separate institution. In this way one institution after another was thrown off from the original *curia*, the differentiation following always the general lines of function. It should be noticed also that it was from the small *curia* in all cases that the splitting off occurred. This is natural, for the fact that it was in constant session put into its hands particularly the carrying on of government.

What the first differentiation was, I believe no one can say with certainty, but I am inclined to think that it was a tendency to set off by itself the financial business which we know as exchequer business. However this may be, the differentiation which is fundamental and which has the largest influence on later history is that of the smaller from the larger *curia regis*. As the formation of two distinct institutions, generally recognized as such, this took place only during the thirteenth century, but we may fairly say that it began when men began to notice that the *curia* existed under two forms. We probably can detect this fact in written evidence no earlier than the reign of Henry I.[5] I have endeavored to represent on the chart the two as going on side by side and united till about that time, and then beginning to separate and, from a later point, from some time in the thirteenth century, rather before the separation of the chancery system, as running down to the present along two parallel lines.

At this point must be emphasized the fact that both divisions alike carried on permanently the three functions of the original

[5] To me it seems impossible to suppose that the *curia* did not exist in these two forms in the earlier reigns, and probably back to the very beginnings of this form of political organization. Whether this can be proved or not, is another matter.

curia. Circumstances tended in each line to emphasize one of these functions, to subordinate another, and to dwarf almost out of existence a third, but all three belonged equally to each institution after the separation. The union of new, representative elements with the *magnum concilium* to form Parliament, threw the emphasis in that line upon the legislative, but the House of Lords continued to exercise the judicial function, though it did not share it with the House of Commons, which could inherit nothing from the *curia regis*.[6] The separate conciliar function practically disappeared, though not as the right of the individual peer, nor would its exercise by the House of Lords at any time in the past have seemed a straining of the constitution. Along the other line it was the conciliar function which was naturally emphasized, the judicial remained, but in a subordinate place, and the legislative became insignificant, the modern orders in council bearing scarcely a trace of the source from which they came. It is only by having this fact clearly in mind that we can understand the reason for such seeming anomalies in the English constitution as the process of impeachment, and the existence of two supreme courts of appeal, the one, the House of Lords, primarily a legislative body, the other, the judicial committee, a part of the king's council.

A third differentiation began, as I think probable, at about the same time as the two already mentioned, though it was not put into permanent form until later,[7] that of the justices in eyre, intended at the start merely to exercise in local districts, instead of at the king's court, for convenience and greater efficiency, both administrative and judicial functions of the *curia*.[8] The itinerant justices' court was a session of the *curia* held locally. By degrees the administrative functions, which these itinerant courts had exercised in the counties, came to be better performed by other institutions which had in the meantime been developing, and they gave themselves up more and more exclusively to their judicial work, but unimportant relics of the old administrative functions of the *curia regis* may still be found in the operation of these courts in England, and of their American representatives, our circuit courts. I have made the line which represents the development of the exchequer court to cross the line of these courts, and brought it into close relation with those

[6] That the judicial power of the House of Lords was exposed to some danger in the thirteenth century from the development of royal justice, and in the fourteenth from some confusion of mind on the part of Parliament, are no doubt facts, but neither affected the final result in the least.

[7] See my article in this REVIEW, VIII. 487.

[8] Mr. Pike's chart distinguishes the justices of assize from the justices in eyre, and this should of course be done in any detailed study.

of the other common law courts, because in my use of this chart I have emphasized the judicial development and paid little attention to the administrative. Of the three common law courts, I think I have placed about correctly the time and chronological order of their evolution, but it is impossible to indicate on a chart the fact that they were brought into existence by the continuous operation of the same principle.

The separation of the chancery system from the council I have shown by a broken line because, while the jurisdiction of the chancellor was a jurisdiction belonging to the council, developed by it, and derived by the chancellor from it, the chancellor never exercised that jurisdiction himself in or through the council, but only outside it, as more or less of a usurpation, an absorption at least of a function not originally pertaining to him. The function, however, just as truly belonged to the *curia regis* as did that which fell to the common law courts. The Court of Star Chamber is always a difficulty to the beginner in constitutional study. The origin and right of its functions, its institutional standing-ground, and the ease with which such a seemingly anomalous piece of machinery was set up and operated, with no sense of anything revolutionary or unusual, are found puzzling. It is most easily understood, as is the historical ground of a separate chancery system, when it is carried back to the original *curia* and its relationship to that institution is made clear.

The last differentiation which I notice is that of the cabinet, but this is of so peculiar a character as to give rise to a problem for the maker of a chart. Historically it is clearly an offshoot of the council and should be so represented. But it has now absorbed the whole conciliar function of the old *curia*, and left the Privy Council existing, so far as real business goes, only in committees. Should it not be the ending of the main line instead of an offshoot? Again the cabinet has brought together in its hands functions which make it, startlingly for modern times, a reproduction of the old smaller *curia*. Control of the administrative system belongs to it. Its relation to Parliament almost makes it a legislative body. It has been called a third house. Only the judicial function is lacking. A comparison of this sort brings out clearly the position of the cabinet in the modern constitution, but it is quite as easy to show historically that it derives from its line of descent only one of these functions, the conciliar, and that its administrative and legislative responsibilities have come to it from other sources.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS.

THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION: THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE QUESTION[1]

THE news of the passage of the Boston Port Bill reached the southern provinces in the summer of 1774. In North Carolina, as elsewhere, meetings were held in the principal towns and in several of the counties, and a general meeting was proposed, to be composed of deputies chosen from every county and town entitled to representation in the Assembly. This first general convention of the people of North Carolina was held in New Bern on August 25, 26 and 27, 1774. On the last day resolutions were adopted declaring allegiance to the crown of Great Britain but vigorously asserting rights as Englishmen, denouncing the Boston Port Bill, naming three delegates (William Hooper, Joseph Hewes and Richard Caswell) to the Continental Congress to be held in Philadelphia the following autumn, and recommending "to the deputies of the several Counties, That a Committee of five persons be chosen in each County by such persons as acceed to this association to take effectual care that these Resolves be properly observed and to correspond occasionally with the Provincial Committee of Correspondence of this province."[2]

The committee for Mecklenburg County, in Charlotte, on May 31, 1775, passed a set of resolutions which were published in *The South-Carolina Gazette; And Country Journal* (Charles Town) for June 13, 1775; in *The North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern) for June 16, 1775; and in *The Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington) for June 23, 1775. The following are the resolutions as they appear in *The North-Carolina Gazette:*

Charlotte *Town*, Mecklenburg *County*, May 31.

This Day the COMMITTEE *met, and passed the following*

RESOLVES:

WHEREAS by an Address presented to his Majesty by both Houses of Parliament in *February* last, the *American* Colonies are declared to

[1] *The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, May 20, 1775, and Lives of Its Signers.* By George W. Graham, M.D. (New York and Washington: The Neale Publishing Company. 1905. Pp. 205.)

The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence: A Study of Evidence Showing that the Alleged Early Declaration of Independence by Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, on May 20th, 1775, is Spurious. By William Henry Hoyt, A.M. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907. Pp. xv, 284.)

[2] *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, IX. 1043–1049.

be in a State of actual Rebellion, we conceive that all Laws and Commissions confirmed by, or derived from the Authority of the King or Parliament, are annulled and vacated, and the former civil Constitution of these Colonies for the present wholly suspended. To provide in some Degree for the Exigencies of the County in the present alarming Period, we deem it proper and necessary to pass the following RESOLVES, *viz.*

1. That all Commissions, civil and military, heretofore granted by the Crown, to be exercised in these Colonies, are null and void, and the Constitution of each particular Colony wholly suspended.

2. That the Provincial Congress of each Province, under the Direction of the Great Continental Congress, is invested with all legislative and executive Powers within their respective Provinces; and that no other Legislative or Executive does or can exist, at this Time, in any of these Colonies.

3. As all former Laws are now suspended in this Province, and the Congress have not yet provided others, we judge it necessary, for the better Preservation of good Order, to form certain Rules and Regulations for the internal Government of this County, until Laws shall be provided for us by the Congress.

4. That the Inhabitants of this County do meet on a certain Day appointed by this Committee, and having formed themselves into nine Companies, *to wit*, eight for the County, and one for the Town of *Charlotte*, do choose a Colonel and other military Officers, who shall hold and exercise their several Powers by Virtue of this Choice, and independent of *Great-Britain*, and former Constitution of this Province.

5. That for the better Preservation of the Peace, and Administration of Justice, each of these Companies do choose from their own Body two discreet Freeholders, who shall be impowered each by himself, and singly, to decide and determine all Matters of Controversy arising within the said Company under the Sum of Twenty Shillings, and jointly and together all Controversies under the Sum of Forty Shillings, yet so as their Decisions may admit of Appeals to the Convention of the Select Men of the whole County; and also, that any one of these shall have Power to examine, and commit to Confinement, Persons accused of Petit Larceny.

6. That those two Select Men, thus chosen, do, jointly and together, choose from the Body of their particular Company two Persons, properly qualified to serve as Constables, who may assist them in the Execution of their Office.

7. That upon the Complaint of any Person to either of these Select Men, he do issue his Warrant, directed to the Constable, commanding him to bring the Aggressor before him or them to answer the said Complaint.

8. That these eighteen Select Men, thus appointed, do meet every third *Tuesday*[3] in *January*, *April*, *July*, and *October*, at the Court-House, in *Charlotte*, to hear and determine all Matters of Controversy for Sums exceeding Forty Shillings; also Appeals: And in Cases of Felony, to commit the Person or Persons convicted thereof to close Confine-

[3] *The South-Carolina Gazette: And Country Journal* prints "Thursday", but all other contemporary copies and the court records themselves show "Tuesday" to have been correct.

ment, until the Provincial Congress shall provide and establish Laws and Modes of Proceeding in all such Cases.

9. That these Eighteen Select Men, thus convened, do choose a Clerk to record the Transactions of said Convention; and that the said Clerk, upon the Application of any Person or Persons aggrieved, do issue his Warrant to one of the Constables, to summons and warn said Offender to appear before the Convention at their next sitting, to answer the aforesaid Complaint.

10. That any Person making complaint upon Oath to the Clerk, or any Member of the Convention, that he has Reason to suspect that any Person or Persons indebted to him in a Sum above Forty Shillings, do intend clandestinely to withdraw from the County without paying such Debt; the Clerk, or such Member, shall issue his Warrant to the Constable, commanding him to take the said Person or Persons into safe Custody, until the next sitting of the Convention.

11. That when a Debtor for a Sum below Forty Shillings shall abscond and leave the County, the Warrant granted as aforesaid shall extend to any Goods or Chattels of the said Debtor as may be found, and such Goods or Chattels be seized and held in Custody by the Constable for the Space of Thirty Days; in which Term if the Debtor fails to return and discharge the Debt, the Constable shall return the Warrant to one of the Select Men of the Company where the Goods and Chattels are found, who shall issue Orders to the Constable to sell such a Part of the said Goods as shall amount to the Sum due; that when the Debt exceeds Forty Shillings, the Return shall be made to the Convention, who shall issue the Orders for Sale.

12. That all Receivers and Collectors of Quitrents, Public and County Taxes, do pay the same into the Hands of the Chairman of this Committee, to be by them disbursed as the public Exigencies may require. And that such Receivers and Collectors proceed no farther in their Office until they be approved of by, and have given to this Committee good and sufficient Security for a faithful Return of such Monies when collected.

13. That the Committee be accountable to the County for the Application of all Monies received from such public Officers.

14. That all these Officers hold their Commissions during the Pleasure of their respective Constituents.

15. That this Committee will sustain all Damages that may ever hereafter accrue to all or any of these Officers thus appointed, and thus acting, on Account of their Obedience and Conformity to these Resolves.

16. That whatever Person shall hereafter receive a Commission from the Crown, or attempt to exercise any such Commission heretofore received, shall be deemed an Enemy to his Country; and upon Information being made to the Captain of the Company where he resides, the said Captain shall cause him to be apprehended, and conveyed before the two Select Men of the said Company, who, upon Proof of the Fact, shall commit him the said Offender, into safe Custody, until the next setting of the Convention, who shall deal with him as Prudence may direct.

17. That any Person refusing to yield Obedience to the above Resolves shall be deemed equally criminal, and liable to the same Punishments as the Offenders above last mentioned.

18. That these Resolves be in full Force and Virtue, until Instructions from the General Congress of this Province, regulating the Jurisprudence of this Province, shall provide otherwise, or the legislative Body of *Great-Britain* resign its unjust and arbitrary Pretentions with Respect to *America*.

19. That the several Militia Companies in this county do provide themselves with proper Arms and Accoutrements, and hold themselves in Readiness to execute the commands and Directions of the Provincial Congress, and of this committee.

20. That this committee do appoint Colonel *Thomas Polk*, and Doctor *Joseph Kennedy*, to purchase 300lb. of Powder, 600lb. of Lead, and 1000 Flints, and deposit the same in some safe Place, hereafter to be appointed by the committee.

Signed by Order of the Committee.
EPH. BREVARD, *Clerk of the Committee.*

In a letter dated "New Bern 18th. June 1775" Richard Cogdell inclosed a copy of *The North-Carolina Gazette* containing the foregoing resolutions to Richard Caswell, in attendance on the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, with these comments thereon: "you'l Observe the Mecklinburg resolves, exceed all other Committees, or the Congress itself. I send you the paper wherein they are incerted as I hope this will come soon to hand."

On June 16, 1775, Governor Martin issued a proclamation in which he denied the allegations of designs on the part of the British Ministry and Parliament to enslave Americans, lately made by the revolutionary party in the counties of the Wilmington district, and severely denounced the revolutionists in North Carolina.

On Tuesday, June 20, 1775, the several committees in the district of Wilmington met in the court house in Wilmington, and Richard Quince, sr., was unanimously chosen chairman. Among the matters taken up was Governor Martin's proclamation of the 16th, and a committee of three was appointed to answer it. On Wednesday, the 21st, this committee returned its answer "which was read and ordered to be printed in the public papers and in hand bills". The preamble of the resolutions presented by this special committee and approved of by the general meeting of the committees closed with the following language:

We, then, the Committees of the counties of New Hanover, Brunswick, Bladen, Duplin and Onslow, in order to prevent the pernicious influence of the said Proclamation, do, unanimously, resolve, that in our opinion, his Excellency Josiah Martin, Esq. hath by the said Proclamation, and by the whole tenor of his conduct, since the unhappy disputes between Great Britain and the colonies, discovered himself to be an enemy to the happiness of this colony in particular, and to the freedom, rights and privileges of America in general.

At a meeting of His Majesty's council for North Carolina, held June 25, 1775, Governor Martin called the attention of the council to the

seditious Combinations that have been formed, and are still forming in several parts of this Colony and the violent measures they persue in compelling His Majesty's Subjects by various kinds of intimidations, to subscribe Associations, inconsistent with their Duty and allegiance to their Sovereign, The obliging People to frequent meetings in Arms, by the usurped Authority of Committees, the recent Assemblage of a Body of armed Men, in the town of Wilmington for the purpose of awing His Majesty's Loyal Subjects there into submission to the dictates of an illegal and tyranical tribunal erected there under that name, and the late most treasonable publication of a Committee in the County of Mecklenburg, explicitly renouncing obedience to His Majesty's Government and all lawfull authority whatsoever.

In a letter written at Fort Johnston, North Carolina, June 30, 1775, Governor Martin detailed to the Earl of Dartmouth, British Secretary of State for the American Department, what had happened in North Carolina since his last despatch (no. 33). He recounted a visit to him from the citizens of New Bern on the 23rd of that month, told of news he had received of some ammunition and arms which General Gage was sending to him and of his apprehension that they would fall into the hands of the revolutionists, of his removal to Fort Johnston from New Bern, of the taking and carrying off of some cannons that had lain behind his house, of the necessity he had been under of publishing the proclamation of the 16th of June (a copy of which he enclosed) and of the reply thereto of the committees at Wilmington on the 21st, using this language:

The News Paper enclosed will shew Your Lordship that the same spirit of Sedition and extravagance that gave cause to that Act of Government, has produced an impudent and formal contradiction of the undeniable truths it contains, under the authority of a Committee; proving irrefragably that People embarked in a bad cause, scruple not a avail themselves of the basest falsehoods, and calumnies to support it according to custom, and as the last effort of malice, and falsehood, Your Lordship will find this Publication proscribes me as an Enemy to this Province in particular, and to America in General.

After detailing how he could organize a regiment of loyalists in North Carolina, Governor Martin referred to his council as follows:

The Minutes of Council held at this place the other day, will make the impotence of Government here as apparent to your Lordship, as anything I can set before you.

In the next paragraph Governor Martin wrote:

The Resolves of the Committee of Mecklenburg which Your Lordship will find in the enclosed News Paper, surpass all the horrid and

treasonable publications that the inflammatory spirits of this Continent have yet produced; and Your Lordship may depend, its Authors and abettors will not escape my due notice, whenever my hands are sufficiently strengthened to attempt the recovery of the lost authority of Government. A Copy of these Resolves I am informed were sent off by express to the Congress at Philadelphia, as soon as they were passed in the Committee.

Governor Martin discussed other matters, and a second time spoke of what "your Lordship will see on the minutes of the Council". He referred to the enclosed proclamation once, to "the enclosed News Paper" twice, and to the minutes of council twice. No other enclosures are mentioned in the letter. He referred to two different matters as published "in the enclosed News Paper". One of these was the reply made to his proclamation of June 16 by the committees of the Wilmington district on June 21, and the other was the resolves of the committee of Mecklenburg of May 31. The "enclosed News Paper", therefore, could only have been one issued between June 21 and June 30, and was undoubtedly *The Cape-Fear Mercury* of Wilmington, of Friday, June 23, 1775. It was necessarily the Wilmington paper of that date or the New Bern paper of the same date, as all other papers were too far off to have permitted of the news of the 21st going and the printed paper coming back between the 21st and the 30th. We have already seen that the Mecklenburg resolutions of May 31 were published in the New Bern paper of June 16. It is hardly likely that they were republished in the same paper on the 23rd. Fort Johnston was too far off for Governor Martin to have received a paper on the 30th, the day of publication, so it is evident that it was *The Cape-Fear Mercury* of June 23 to which Governor Martin twice referred in his letter of June 30 as "the enclosed News Paper", and *The Cape-Fear Mercury* of the 23rd had probably copied the Mecklenburg resolutions of May 31 from *The North-Carolina Gazette* of the 16th, though it is possible that a third copy of the resolutions was sent to *The Cape-Fear Mercury* and arrived too late for use in the issue of the 16th.

The letter of June 30 was termed by Governor Martin despatch "No. 34". On July 6 he wrote another letter ("No. 35") to Lord Dartmouth in which he said:

I have engaged Mr. Alexr Schaw whom I have now the honor to introduce to your Lordship to charge himself with this Letter, and my Dispatch No. 34.

On July 16 Governor Martin wrote to Lord Dartmouth:

Since the departure of Mr. Schaw who was charged with my Dispatches to your Lordship No. 34 and 35. Duplicates of which are herewith enclosed . . . Having an opportunity of writing safely by a passenger in a Merchant's Ship, I could not let it escape me without giving your Lordship the Accounts contained in this letter relative to the operations of the Army at Boston.

The passenger referred to was a Mr. Burgwine, and on September 15 Lord Dartmouth wrote to Governor Martin:

I have received from the hands of Mr. Burgwine your dispatches numbered 34. 35. 36. 37 and 38, the two first being Duplicates, the originals of which you mention to have been trusted to Mr. Schaw, who has not yet appeared.

The original of despatch "No. 34" reached Lord Dartmouth soon after and is now in the British Public Record Office. The original wrapper thereof, which probably contained the usual endorsement which would show the number of the enclosures received, were it at hand, was mislaid. Only two enclosures are with the letter now: the proclamation of June 16 and the minutes of the council of June 25. The newspaper mentioned by Governor Martin is missing and on the back of the last page of the letter, where an endorsement was made after the loss of the wrapper, is this pencilled memorandum: "Printed Paper taken out by Mr. Turner for Mr. Stevenson,[4] August 15th, 1837." This memorandum, taken with the words of Governor Martin's letter ("No. 34"), shows that only one newspaper was enclosed and that it necessarily contained both sets of resolutions referred to as in the "enclosed News Paper". The duplicate of despatch "No. 34" is still in the collection of papers left by Lord Dartmouth and retains its original wrapper and thereon is endorsed "3 Inclosures". Only two of these are therein now: the minutes of the council of June 25 and a manuscript copy of the Mecklenburg resolutions of May 31. That shows what resolutions Governor Martin referred to when he spoke in the council meeting on June 25 of "the late most treasonable publication of a Committee in the County of Mecklenburg" and what resolutions he referred to as "in the enclosed News Paper" which he enclosed to Lord Dartmouth in his letter of June 30.

In a proclamation which Governor Martin issued to the people of North Carolina from "on board His Majesty's Sloop *Cruizer* in Cape Fear River", August 8, 1775, he again referred to the Wilmington and Mecklenburg resolutions as follows:

Whereas I have seen a publication in the *Cape Fear Mercury* which appears to be proceedings of a General Meeting of People stiling them-

[4] The then United States minister to England.

selves Committees of the District of Wilmington signed Richard Quince Sen^r Chairman, in which the well known and incontestible facts set forth in my Proclamation bearing date the 12^th day of June last are most daringly and impudently contradicted, and the basest and most scandalous Seditious and inflammatory falsehoods are asserted evidently calculated to impose upon and mislead the People of this Province and to alienate their affections from His Majesty and His Government and concluding in the true spirit of licentiousness and malignity that characterizes the production of these seditious combinations with a resolve declaring me an Enemy to the Interests of this Province in particular and America in General.

. . . . . .

And whereas I have also seen a most infamous publication in the *Cape Fear Mercury* importing to be resolves of a set of people stiling themselves a Committee for the County of Mecklenburg most traiterously declaring the entire dissolution of the Laws Government and Constitution of this country and setting up a system of rule and regulation repugnant to the Laws and subversive of His Majesty's Government.

Here we have the direct statement that he had seen the two sets of resolutions in *The Cape-Fear Mercury*. He had stated in his letter of June 30 that both sets of resolutions, which he described in language very similar to this, were in the same paper and we have seen that in his duplicate letter he sent a copy of the Mecklenburg resolutions of May 31, as the resolutions that were in that paper. The proof is conclusive, therefore, that the resolutions Governor Martin referred to on three separate occasions were the resolutions of May 31 and that they were printed in *The Cape-Fear Mercury* of June 23, 1775, after having been printed in two other papers the preceding week.[5]

[5] In an article in *The State* (Columbia, S. C.) of July 30, 1905, this reviewer, discussing this subject, made the following statement in reference to the resolutions of May 31: "These resolutions were printed in *The South-Carolina Gazette; And Country Journal*, a weekly newspaper published in Charles Town, S. C., on Tuesday, June 13, 1775, and about the same time in *The Cape-Fear Mercury*." That statement was immediately questioned by Dr. A. J. McKelway of Charlotte, who wrote to this reviewer as follows: "Your statement that the Resolves of the 31st. were published in the *Cape Fear Mercury* is without historical proof. In investigating that matter of the duplicate letter to Lord Dartmouth, through the kind offices of Ambassador Choate, I discovered that the 'enclosed Newspaper' was not the *Cape Fear Mercury* but the *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, a copy of which you have doubtless perused in the Charleston Library."

Acting upon that advice the writer stated in his pamphlet, *The True Mecklenburg "Declaration of Independence"* (Columbia, S. C., 1905), that the duplicate of despatch "N°. 34" "contains a manuscript copy of the resolutions of May 31st, and they are credited to *The South-Carolina Gazette; And Country Journal* of June 13, 1775". The truth revealed by photographs of the manuscript copy of the resolutions in the duplicate despatch shows that it is almost impossible to get the truth from secondary sources when people misrepresent things. There is

Bold as these resolutions were they did not declare the "entire dissolution of the Laws Government and Constitution of this country" as Governor Martin in his haste supposed but merely provided temporarily for "the better preservation of good order" in the county during the suspension of the laws under the declarations of the British Parliament and the British civil officers. The temporary government so formed became permanent after the Declaration of Independence by the American provinces July 4, 1776, and the Mecklenburg resolutions of May 31, 1775, under which the temporary government was organized, soon came to be looked upon extra-legally or traditionally by the people of that section of North Carolina as a county declaration of independence. The earliest evidence that such view of the resolutions was held by anyone is to be found in an historical sketch which was discovered in 1904 among the Moravian archives at Bethania, N. C. It is in German, undated, and unsigned, but in a most critically prepared paper, which has been published several times, Miss Adelaide L. Fries of Winston-Salem, N. C., has shown that it was written by Traugott Bagge about September, 1783. The following is the paragraph (translated) referring to the Mecklenburg "Declaration" under the subhead "1775".

I cannot leave unmentioned at the end of the 1775th year that already in the summer of this year, that is in May, June or July, the county of Mecklenburg declared itself free and independent of England, and made such arrangements for the administration of the laws among themselves, as later the Continental Congress made for all. This Congress, however, considered these proceedings premature.

The next link we have in this chain of tradition constructed by fallible human recollection is a document which was prepared by John McKnitt Alexander in 1800. It appears that his house was destroyed by fire in April, 1800; that he had had therein some contemporary records of the Mecklenburg proceedings and resolutions of May, 1775, and that some time between April 6 and September 3, 1800, he prepared a rough summary of the salient features of the so-called "Declaration" and associated events as he remembered

no evidence whatever on "the duplicate letter to Lord Dartmouth" to warrant the assertion that "the 'enclosed newspaper' was not the *Cape Fear Mercury* but the *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal.*" The name of the newspaper is nowhere given in any of the Martin papers now before us, but internal evidence in those papers shows which newspaper it was, as will be seen above.

Another volunteer correspondent also misled the writer into saying that Sparks had asserted in one of his manuscripts (Harvard Library, Sparks MSS., vol. LVI.) that the paper sent over by Martin was the *Charles Town Gazette.* Sparks says in that manuscript that it "was undoubtedly the 'Cape Fear gazette'".

them. This summary shows that he had no recollection of the phraseology of the document which he termed a declaration of independence, but it is quite apparent that he was trying to recall the resolutions of May 31. He fixed the date of the passage of the "Declaration" as 12 o'clock, May 20, 1775, and credited their passage to a committee.

The next reference to this "Declaration" is embodied in the following toast that was offered at a banquet held in Charlotte on the night of the 4th of July, 1808:

By Jos. Pearson—The Patriots of Mecklenburg: the first to declare Independence—May their sons be the last to acknowledge themselves slaves.[6]

The next traditionary mention of this "Declaration of Independence" is to be found in a valedictory address delivered at Sugar Creek Academy, in Mecklenburg County, June 1, 1809, and published in *The Minerva*, of Raleigh, for August 10, 1809. The following is the pertinent extract from the address:

On the 19th of May 1776, a day sacredly exulting to every Mecklenburg bosom, two delegates duly authorized from every militia company in this county* met in Charlotte—After a cool and deliberate investigation of the causes and extent of our differences with G. Britain, and taking a view of the probable result; pledging their all in support of their rights and liberties; they solemnly entered into and published a full and determined *declaration* of independence, renouncing forever all allegiance, dependence on or connection with Great Britain; dissolved all judicial and military establishments emanating from the British crown; established others on principles correspondent with their declaration, which went into emmediate operation: All which were transmitted to Congress by express, and probably expedited the general declaration of Independence. May we ever act worthy of such predecessors.

This address was evidently prepared by a person of mature years, as one may see by a perusal of the whole of it, and, as the teacher of the Sugar Creek Academy, Samuel C. Caldwell, was a son-in-law of John McKnitt Alexander, it is simple enough to trace the source from which emanated the reference to the "Declaration of Independence" made in the valedictory. While the paragraph quoted describes very inaccurately the resolutions of May 31, 1775, it is in keeping with what John McKnitt Alexander wrote in 1800. The committee did not publish a "full and determined declaration of Independence, renouncing forever all allegiance, dependence on or connection with Great Britain", but expressed the opinion that by Great Britain's own acts the laws had become nullified in North

* See *The Raleigh Register*, July 28, 1808.

Carolina and that Mecklenburg County was without the benefits of a government. The resolutions of May 31 did provide for the dissolution of "all judicial and military establishments emanating from the British crown" and for the establishment of "others on principles correspondent with their declaration", but the dissolution was to be only temporary, and the provision as to courts was never carried out, as is shown by the records of the county court in Charlotte. Governor Martin's letter of June 30, 1775, to the Earl of Dartmouth confirms the statement that the resolutions "were transmitted to Congress by express".

To the asterisk in the above extract the following foot-note appears in *The Minerva*: * "The present county of Cabarrus was then included in Mecklenburg." The significance of that foot-note and its bearing on future evolutions of this "Declaration of Independence" will become apparent later.

John McKnitt Alexander died July 10, 1817. During the same year Wirt's *Life of Patrick Henry* appeared in which the claim was made that Henry "gave the first impulse to the ball of the Revolution". This was followed by discussions as to whether the earliest movements that led to American independence took place in Virginia or Massachusetts. During the session of Congress of 1818–1819 the claim was made that North Carolina made the earliest movement; that the people of Mecklenburg County had declared independence before July 4, 1776. Senator Macon and Representative William Davidson, the representative of the district including Mecklenburg County, wrote to persons in that section for information: Macon to General Joseph Graham, and Davidson to Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander, a son of John McKnitt Alexander. The latter sent Davidson the following account of the disputed event which he said he had copied from papers left by his father. Davidson gave it to Macon, who sent it to the *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, wherein it was published April 30, 1819.

It is not probably known to many of our readers, that the citizens of Mecklenburg County, in this State made a Declaration of Independence more than a year before Congress made theirs. The following Document on the subject has lately come to the hands of the Editor from unquestionable authority, and is published that it may go down to posterity.

North-Carolina, Mecklenburg County,
May 20, 1775

In the spring of 1775, the leading characters of Mecklenburg county, stimulated by that enthusiastic patriotism which elevates the mind above considerations of individual aggrandisement, and scorning to shelter themselves from the impending storm by submission to lawless power,

&c &c held several detached meetings, in each of which the individual sentiments were "that the cause of Boston was the cause of all; that their destinies were indissolubly connected with those of their Eastern fellow-citizens—and that they must either submit to all the impositions which an unprincipled, and to them an unrepresented parliament might impose—or support their brethren who were doomed to sustain the first shock of that power, which, if successful there, would ultimately overwhelm all in the common calamity. Conformably to these principles, Col. Adam Alexander, through solicitation, issued an order to each Captain's Company in the county of Mecklenburg, (then comprising the present county of Cabarrus) directing each militia company to elect two persons, and delegate to them ample power to devise ways and means to aid and assist their suffering brethren in Boston, and also generally to adopt measures to extricate themselves from the impending storm, and to secure unimpaired their inalienable rights, privileges and liberties from the dominant grasp of British imposition and tyranny.

In conforming to said Order, on the 19th of May, 1775, the said delegation met in Charlotte, vested with unlimited powers; at which time official news, by express, arrived of the Battle of Lexington on that day of the preceding month. Every delegate felt the value and importance of the prize, and the awful and solemn crisis which had arrived—every bosom swelled with indignation at the malice, inveteracy and insatiable revenge developed in the late attack at Lexington. The universal sentiment was: let us not flatter ourselves that popular harangues—or resolves; that popular vapor will avert the storm, or vanquish our common enemy—let us deliberate—let us calculate the issue——the probable result; and then let us act with energy as brethren leagued to preserve our property—our lives,—and what is still more endearing, the liberties of America. *Abraham Alexander* was then elected Chairman, and *John M'Knitt Alexander*, Clerk. After a free and full discussion of the various objects for which the delegation had been convened, it was unanimously Ordained—

1. *Resolved*, That whosoever directly or indirectly abetted, or in any way, form or manner countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by Great-Britain, is an enemy to this Country,—to America,—and to the inherant and inalienable rights of man.

2. *Resolved*, That we the citizens of Mecklenburg County, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the Mother Country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown, and abjure all political connection, contract or association with that Nation, who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties—and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of American patriots at Lexington.

3. *Resolved*, That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent People, are and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing Association, under the control of no power other than that of our God and the General Government of the Congress; to the maintenance of which independence, we solemly pledge to each other our mutual cooperation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.

4. *Resolved*, That as we now acknowledge the existence and control of no law or legal officer, civil or military, within this County, We

do hereby ordain and adopt, as a rule of life, all, each and every of our former laws,—wherein, nevertheless, the Crown of Great-Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities or authority therein.

5. *Resolved*, That it is also further decreed, that all, each and every military officer in this county is hereby reinstated to his former command and authority, he acting conformably to these regulations. And that every member present of this delegation shall henceforth be a civil officer, viz: a Justice of the Peace, in the character of a '*Committee man*,' to issue process, hear and determine all matters of controversy, according to said adopted laws, and to preserve peace, and union, and harmony in said County,—and to use every exertion to spread the love of country and fire of freedom throughout America, until a more general and organized government be established in this province.

A number of bye-laws were also added, merely to protect the association from confusion and to regulate their general conduct as citizens. After sitting in the Courthouse all night, neither sleepy, hungry, or fatigued, and after discussing every paragraph, they were all passed, sanctioned and declared *unanimously*, about 2 o'clock, A. M. May 20. In a few days a deputation of said delegation convened, when Capt. *James Jack* of Charlotte was deputed as express to the Congress at Philadelphia, with a copy of said Resolves and Proceedings, together with a letter addressed to our three Representatives there, viz: *Richard Caswell, Wm. Hooper* and *Joseph Hughes*—under express injunction, personally, and through the state representation, to use all possible means to have said proceedings sanctioned and approved by the general Congress. On the return of Capt. Jack, the delegation learned that their proceedings were individually approved by the members of Congress, but that it was deemed premature to lay them before the House. A joint letter from said three members of Congress was also received, complimentary of the zeal in the common cause, and recommending perseverance, order and energy.

The subsequent harmony, unanimity and exertion in the cause of liberty and independence, evidently resulting from these regulations, and the continued exertion of said delegation, apparently tranquilised this section of the State, and met with the concurrence and high approbation of the Council of Safety, who held their sessions at Newbern and Wilmington alternately, and who confirmed the nomination and acts of the delegation in their official capacity.

From this delegation originated the Court of Enquiry of this County, who constituted and held their first session in Charlotte—they then held their meetings regularly at Charlotte, at Col. James Harris's and at Col. Phifer's alternately one week at each place. It was a civil Court founded on military process. Before this judicature all suspicious persons were made to appear, who were formally tried and banished, or continued under guard. Its jurisdiction was as unlimited as toryism, and its decrees as final as the confidence and patriotism of the County. Several were arrested and brought before them from Lincoln, Rowan and the adjacent counties—

[The foregoing is a true copy of the papers on the above subject, left in my hands by John M'Knitt Alexander dec'd; I find it mentioned

on file that the original book was burned April, 1800. That a copy of the proceedings was sent to Hugh Williamson in New York, then writing a History of North-Carolina, and that a copy was sent to Gen. W. R. Davie. J. M'KNITT.][7]

The facts shown by the resolutions of May 31, 1775, and other authentic records preclude the possibility of any such action having been taken on May 20, 1775, as described in the narrative accompanying the foregoing resolutions. The resolutions of the 31st provided for the organization of the people of Mecklenburg into a regiment of militia at a future date. The colonel of that regiment could not have called a convention of two representatives of each company of that regiment to meet twelve days before provision had been made for the organization of the regiment. The resolutions of the 31st provided for the future organization of a convention of two selectmen from each of the nine companies of the regiment. This convention, not yet in existence on May 31, 1775, could not have done something on May 20, 1775. This narrative states that John McKnitt Alexander was elected clerk of the convention. The resolutions of May 31 show that Ephraim Brevard was secretary of the committee which passed the resolutions, and John McKnitt Alexander said in his rough summary that the "Declaration" was passed by a committee and made no claim for himself as its secretary. This narrative asserts that Adam Alexander was colonel of the Mecklenburg regiment and called the convention. The authentic records of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina show that Thomas Polk was appointed colonel and Adam Alexander lieutenant-colonel, respectively, of the Mecklenburg regiment by that body, September 9, 1775.[8] This narrative makes Abraham Alexander chairman of the convention. It appears by a much published certificate, dated November 28, 1775, respecting the loyalty of William Henderson, that Abraham Alexander was then "Chairman of the Committee of P. S." for Mecklenburg County. That accounts for our chairman of the "convention".[9]

The genuineness of this "Declaration" was immediately questioned and the testimony of eye-witnesses to the traditionary "Declaration" was invoked, Colonel William Polk, himself an eye-witness, being most active in collecting this testimony. But a critical analysis of the statements so made (which were published in local newspapers at the time and in pamphlet form by Colonel Polk

[7] From the files in the Library of Congress.

[8] *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, X. 206.

[9] The permanent presiding officer of a convention is called president, and was so called in 1775 as well as to-day.

in 1822) will show that this testimony sustains the resolutions of May 31, of which there was then no copy before the public, rather than the "Declaration" produced by Alexander, the former paper reasserting itself upon the memories of the witnesses in spite of what the printed memoranda furnished them.

Among those who made statements at this time, having before them the printed version of the alleged "Declaration", was Captain James Jack, who said that he had carried the "Declaration" to Philadelphia, leaving Charlotte in June and passing through Salisbury where court was in session and where the "Declaration" was read aloud in open court to the assembled populace. John McKnitt Alexander had said in his rough notes made in 1800 that Captain Jack had carried the "Declaration" to Philadelphia and Governor Martin had said in his letter of June 30, 1775, that the resolutions of May 31, 1775, had been sent to Philadelphia immediately upon their passage. The only court held in Salisbury for a month or more after May 20, 1775, was held from the 1st to the 6th of June. It is evident that Jack carried the resolutions of May 31.

In August, 1819, Colonel William Polk sent Judge A. D. Murphey a revised copy of what had been published in the *Raleigh Register* a few months before, saying: "The resolutions of the Mecklenburg delegates is taken from a manuscript copy given by Dr. Jos. McKnitt Alexander of Mecklenburg. I cannot vouch for their being in the words of the Committee who framed them, but they are essentially so." Judge Murphey further revised and polished up this paper and published it in *The Hillsboro Recorder* in March, 1821.

Some time elapsed after the publication of Alexander's "Declaration" before any claim was publicly made that it had been signed. About 1825 a broadside appeared containing the first three of the resolutions of this "Declaration" with a list of the alleged "signers" appended thereto, this list being made up of every name that had been mentioned by the memory-witnesses as connected with the committee or "convention". It was at once seen that this was a manufactured product and the compiler of it soon admitted that he had printed it merely as a souvenir of the semi-centennial of the adoption of the "Declaration". Nevertheless the names appended thereto have ever since been regarded by the super-credulous as real "signers". But the court records of Charlotte and Salisbury show that Robert Harris, Abraham Alexander, Robert Irwin, Richard Barry, John Foard, Hezekiah Alexander, Adam Alexander, and others of the alleged "signers" sat as justices of the peace in the

county court of Mecklenburg and held court regularly every quarter up to and including the session of July, 1776, in the name of the King; that William Kennon, another alleged signer, practised before the King's court at Salisbury on the second of June, 1775, and that Waightstill Avery, another alleged signer, was appointed "Attorney for the Crown" at Salisbury, August 2, 1775.

On July 4, 1828, *The Charleston Mercury* published another version of the "Declaration" slightly different in verbiage from all previous versions. The contributor signed his article "Guilford". In November of the same year another slightly different version appeared in Garden's *Anecdotes of the American Revolution*, but it is plainly to be seen upon comparing the Guilford and Garden versions that the latter was revised from the former.

In 1829 Judge F. X. Martin of Louisiana, formerly of North Carolina, published a history of North Carolina in which he incorporated this "Declaration". It is clear from the context, the circumstances under which it appeared, and the absence of accurate references as to the source from which it was obtained, despite the claim in his preface that his work had been prepared twenty years before, that this version of the "Declaration" was obtained after the other chapters of his work had been prepared, and the correspondence of Judge Murphey, now in evidence, shows that Martin used the version Judge Murphey published in March, 1821.

In the same year that Martin's history appeared Thomas Jefferson's works were published and therein was found a letter from Jefferson to John Adams in which Jefferson declared that this "Declaration" was spurious and that he had never heard of it before. An examination of Adams's writings and additional letters by Jefferson still in manuscript reveals the fact that Adams fully agreed with Jefferson and that they were both quite indignant over this alleged "Declaration". Jefferson's letter aroused renewed interest in the matter in North Carolina and drew from Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander a verbose, bombastic contribution on the subject to *The Yadkin and Catawba Journal* of Salisbury, of November 9, 1830, under the caption, "Declaration of Independence, by the citizens of Mecklenburg County (then including Cabarrus) North Carolina, on the 20th day of May, 1775", and over his full name. The following are the most pertinent passages from that contribution:

> To every ingenious mind, the difficulty is at once obvious of establishing by *positive* proof, such a transaction, 55 years after its occurrence, when no record of the transaction could be *officially* kept; when a long Revolutionary war supervened; the place of its occurrence, for a season, being in the occupation of the enemy; when all the delegates

are in the silent grave, and when the validity of the transaction has never been called in question until Mr. Jefferson, in a letter of his recently published, pronounced it "a spurious and unjustifiable quiz". . . . [He here gives abstracts from the certificates of the eye-witnesses before mentioned.] There is now a paper in my possession, written and signed by J. M. Alexander, and purports to be extracted from the old minutes, etc. Of this there is no date to show when these extracts were made; the introductory part is similar, as far as it goes, to that placed in the hands of Gen. Davie. The Resolves entered into, are in this extract noticed as follows: . . . [He here quotes inaccurately a part of the rough summary left by his father.] I hold these papers, certificates, etc., subject to the inspection of any one desirous of examining them.

From the preceding certificates, it appears most probable that there were drawn up by a select committee, a declaration of grievances and a formal Declaration of Independence, which, if so, was the paper sent on by Captain Jack to Congress; the original of which is lost to us through the death, shortly afterwards, of Dr. Ephraim Brevard, the Chairman of the Committee, and by the occupation of Charlotte by Cornwallis, where the Dr. lived, and where his papers probably were. But be this as it may, we have an authentic copy of these resolves and bye-laws mentioned in so many of the certificates, in the handwriting of John McKnitt Alexander, and certified by him as Clerk, which had been by him deposited with Gen. Wm. R. Davie, for the use of some future historian; and after the death of the General, procured and deposited with us, by Dr. Samuel Henderson, now Clerk of the Superior Court of this County. . . . [He here repeats the resolutions that he had published in the *Raleigh Register* in 1819.]

These Resolves having been concurred in, bye-laws and regulations for the government of the standing Committee of Public Safety were enacted and acknowledged, etc., etc. The whole proceedings of the delegation, though interesting, are too long for this publication.

In the certificate which he published in the *Raleigh Register* "J. M'Knitt" stated that he had found it "on file" that a copy of the "proceedings" was sent to General Davie. This "copy" was obtained by Dr. Samuel Henderson from Major F. William Davie soon after the General's death and given to Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander. Henderson certified to that effect, November 25, 1830, stating that he knew the handwriting to be that of John McKnitt Alexander, and that the paper was torn and that Major Davie had told him, when asked how it had become torn, that his sisters had torn it, "not knowing what it was".

At its session of 1830–1831 the General Assembly of North Carolina appointed a committee to investigate certain historical records including the papers pertaining to Dr. Alexander's "Declaration". The Doctor turned over to the committee certain evidences he had gathered and the committee reported in favor of the genuineness of the "Declaration" and ordered their report and the papers upon which it was based to be published.

During the next few years several copies of the resolutions of May 31, 1775, were discovered and critical historians at once saw the foundation for the tradition and the testimony of the eye-witnesses. But the myth had become a reality, and logical deductions and reliable evidence could not now carry weight with the myth-worshippers.

After the report of the legislative committee the papers which Dr. Alexander had loaned were returned to him and about 1845, after his death, were given into the custody of the state by his family. A paper hitherto unmentioned was now discovered among them. It contained the same resolutions and historical note, with a few textual variations, as were published in the *Raleigh Register* of April 30, 1819. To this paper and the "half sheet" whereon John McKnitt Alexander's rough summary had been written the following certificate was attached:

No. Carolina,
Mecklenburg County.

The sheet and torn half sheet to which this is attached (the sheet is evidently corrected in two places by John McKnitt Alexander as marked on it ☞—the half sheet is in his own handwriting) were found after the death of Jno. McKnitt Alexander in his old mansion house in the centre of a roll of old pamphlets, viz: "an address on public liberty printed Philadelphia, 1774;" one "on the Disputes with G. Britain, printed 1775"; and "an address on Federal policy to the Citizens of No. C., a held at Hallifax the 4 of April, 1776," which papers have been in my possession ever since. Certifyed Novr. 25th, 1830.

J. McKnitt.

In an address delivered at an Academy near Charlotte, published in the *Raleigh Minerva* of 10th Augt., 1809, the Mecklenburg Declaration is distinctly stated, etc.

As to the full sheet being in an unknown handwrite, it matters not who may have thus copyed the original record; by comparing the copy deposited with Genl. Davie they two will be found so perfectly the same, so far as his is preserved, that no imposition is possible—the one from the same original as the other is conclusive. I have therefore always taken from the one which is entire, where the other is lost. the entire sheet is most probably a copy taken long since from the original for some person, corrected by Jno. McKnitt Alexander, and now sent on. the roll of pamphlets with which these two papers were found I never knew were amongst his old surveying and other papers untill after his death. they may have been unrolled since 1788.

J. McKnitt.

All of the Davie "copy" was gone except the last two resolutions and the following certificate in the handwriting of John McKnitt Alexander, which had received no notice from the legislative committee or Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander or any other of

the champions of the genuineness of the "Declaration" published in 1819:

> It may be worthy of notice here to observe that the foregoing statement, though fundamentally correct, may not literally correspond with the original record of the transactions of said delegation and court of inquiry, as all those records and papers were burnt with the house on April 6, 1800; but previous to that time of 1800 a full copy of said records, at the request of Dr. Hugh Williamson, then of New York, but formerly a representative in Congress from this State, was forwarded to him by Colonel William Polk, in order that those early transactions might fill their proper place in a history of this State, then writing by said Dr. Williamson, in New York. Certifyed to the best of my recollection and belief, this 3d day of September, 1800.
>
> J. McK. Alexander.

This is the history in brief of the so-called "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" as told by the records submitted in evidence in the two volumes cited at the beginning of this review and by additional evidence cited by this reviewer and not cited in either book. From the first publication of the alleged "Declaration" in the *Raleigh Register* to the present there has been an interminable controversy going on over the question of the genuineness of this document, and these two volumes are resultants of that controversy. In them are arrayed the bulk of the evidence and arguments heretofore presented on either side of the controversy and, in addition thereto, both Messrs. Graham and Hoyt have presented many new phases of the question, much additional evidence, and many new arguments.

Dr. Graham has abandoned the main point contended for by the early advocates of the "Declaration" alleged to have been passed May 20, 1775, and has advanced a new theory which does not stand the test of critical examination. Heretofore it has been vigorously contended that the "Declaration" as published in the *Raleigh Register* was a correct copy of the original and the certificate thereon by John McKnitt Alexander stating that it was written from memory has been ignored. Dr. Graham now admits that that "copy" was made from memory and not correctly worded. He sets up the claim that the Martin and Garden copies were obtained from original sources and therefore genuine copies. As they differ from each other about as much as they differ from the *Raleigh Register* version it would be puzzling to know which of them really is the correct version, but for the fact that Mr. Hoyt shows conclusively that neither was taken from original sources but that both of them as well as all other versions so far produced in evidence were drawn

from the *Raleigh Register* version and altered to suit the taste of the writer or the idiosyncrasies of the printer. Dr. Graham has offered some new evidence to sustain the validity of the "Declaration" alleged to have been passed on the 20th, but he has failed to grasp securely the import of that evidence or represent it accurately, and Mr. Hoyt has with little difficulty refuted every item of it. In addition to the copies of the "Declaration" published by Martin and Garden, the school boy's declamation and the Davie "copy"—all of which are shown by Mr. Hoyt not to sustain the validity of the alleged "Declaration" of the 20th—Dr. Graham offers three more items of evidence equally unsubstantial.

The first of these is a poem entitled "A Modern Poem" by "The Mecklenburg Censor". Dr. Graham asserts that that poem was dated March 18, 1777, and quotes the first seventeen lines of it, the last three of which run

> First to withdraw from British trust,
> In Congress they the very first,
> Their Independence did declare.

There is a complete copy of "A Modern Poem" in the Charleston Library; it bears annotations by a citizen of Charlotte in 1777, and does not contain the three lines quoted. The poem was written in satirical criticism of the action of the people of Mecklenburg County in choosing delegates to the constitutional convention of 1776 and had nothing to do with any action taken in May, 1775. It was published by another citizen of Mecklenburg on March 30, 1777, and "The Editor" stated that he had considered the poem too harsh *until* he "saw the same spirit of insipid indifference prevailed at our last election, held on the 10th day of March". Mr. Hoyt points out that this proves that the poem Dr. Graham quotes from is not the original if it is dated March 18, 1777, and that the three lines relied on to sustain the genuineness of the "Declaration" alleged to have been passed on May 20 do not consist with the rest of the poem or with the well established history of the time.

Dr. Graham cites certain Mecklenburg deeds that date independence from 1775 as proof that Mecklenburg passed that specific "Declaration" on May 20 of that year. Mr. Hoyt has answered by showing that it is nothing unusual to find a deed dated one year too soon or one year too late.

Dr. Graham cites the tombstone record of Benjamin Wilson Davidson which gives the date of his birth as May 20, 1787, and states that Davidson's sons had said that their grandfather had

called their father " My Independence Boy " and that his neighbors had called him " Independence Ben ". The tombstone does not give the date of Davidson's death, although quite positive as to the date of his birth. It appears to be debatable whether " My Independence Boy " was not born on the 4th of July rather than the 20th of May, or whether, having been born on May 20, he did not receive that designation after the publication in 1819 of the alleged " Declaration " of May 20, rather than in his infancy. Dr. Graham furnishes no evidence to settle these questions one way or the other. The statements of his father, Major John Davidson, an alleged signer of the " Declaration ", shows that he had entirely forgotten the date and most of the circumstances of the meeting when questioned about it more than forty-five years after.

Dr. Graham insists that the Martin letter of June 30, 1775, referred to the " Declaration " of May 20, but the Martin papers themselves quoted here and by Mr. Hoyt show that every reference made by Governor Martin was to the resolutions of May 31.

Mr. Hoyt has produced the most scholarly work yet presented on this much-mooted question and has done it according to the most approved methods of the school of scientific history, " minute and accurate investigation, reserved judgment, impartial feeling, a fondness for institutions rather than for personalities, and a touch of iconoclasm in dealing with the accepted facts of the old school ". In his preface he says: " I came to my subject before Dr. George W. Graham's book was announced, with the intention of writing a defence of the authenticity of the Mecklenburg Declaration, but the irresistible logic of facts drove me to my present position." Each item of evidence pro or contra has been most carefully considered in a most impartial manner; its strength and its weakness shown and its value given. Each argument has been met freely and completely; there has been no shirking or evading or misrepresenting or perverting; just what the records show has Mr. Hoyt given and weighed with fine judgment. He has given the real value of, or completely refuted, every item of evidence Dr. Graham has presented in behalf of his " Declaration ", and his arguments have overshadowed those of Dr. Graham in logical conclusions at every point. He has destroyed the entire foundation of this false structure—has not left even a prop to hold it up—and has hurled it into the slough of historical myths where it is to be hoped the truth-loving world will let it remain. Mr. Hoyt deserves the thanks of the real students of history—those who love truth because it is the truth.

But while Mr. Hoyt has conclusively shown that the alleged

" Declaration " is spurious; that it was constructed from John McKnitt Alexander's rough notes, although not adhering to the statements therein made in certain particulars and actually changing them in others; that the first version published was not adhered to in subsequent publications thereof emanating from the same source from which that first version emanated; that the testimony of eye-witnesses to the passage of the traditionary declaration contradicted many of the statements therein made and induced the General Assembly to declare as genuine a revised version of what Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander had given to the world as a copy of the original and subsequently reiterated to be such—all of which proves that neither the original nor an authentic copy of the original was ever in evidence—he does not offer a suggestion as to who was the manufacturer of that spurious paper. He accepts in good faith Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander's irreconcilable statements that the paper had been " left in my hands by John M'Knitt Alexander dec'd " and that it had been " found after the death of Jno. McKnitt Alexander in his old mansion house in the centre of a roll of old pamphlets ". But we think that he has himself published enough evidence to at least create a suspicion against the honesty of Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander in connection with that paper, and when we add to that evidence certain information gathered by this reviewer and hereafter submitted, the evidence appears to be convincing that Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander was himself the author of that spurious " Declaration ".

In the first paper which he gave to the world Dr. Alexander carefully avoided acknowledging that John McKnitt Alexander was his father; hid his identity under the signature " J. McKnitt "; mentioned "papers " left in his hands by " John M'Knitt Alexander dec'd ", although he produced only one paper and did not say how many more there were or what their import was; and did not say that John McKnitt Alexander was the author of the paper or tell how the latter came into possession of it, or in what shape it was. He was evidently leaving loop-holes to escape in the event that he was " cornered ". He stated that he had found it " on file that the original book was burned April, 1800. That a copy of the proceedings was sent to Hugh Williamson in New York, then writing a History of North-Carolina, and that a copy was sent to Gen. W. R. Davie ". When we compare certificates we are forced to the conclusion that he was then cognizant of the contents of the certificate his father had put to the Davie copy and knew that the paper he had was a concoction and not a genuine record. Hence this vague-

ness. In his article in the *Yadkin and Catawba Journal* he stated that there was "an authentic copy of these resolves and bye-laws mentioned in so many of the certificates, in the handwriting of John McKnitt Alexander, and certified by him as Clerk which had been by him deposited with Gen. Wm. R. Davie, for the use of some future historian". He knew that this was false, for the Davie "copy" contained the father's certificate that that paper was not taken from an original record but was prepared from memory and was only true to the best of his belief, and there was nothing thereon to show that he claimed to have been clerk of the body that passed the "Declaration" which he saw voted. He made it further appear that he had the "whole proceedings of the delegation" which, "though interesting", were "too long for this publication". He forgot that at the outset of the very same article he had said that it was difficult to prove a thing after fifty-five years "when no record of the transaction could be *officially* kept; when a long Revolutionary war supervened; the place of its occurrence, for a season, being in the occupation of the enemy; when all the delegates are in the silent grave". As a matter of fact, he never did have a single original record and all that he was ever able to produce was the rough summary prepared by his father, the paper of doubtful origin and the Davie "copy" made and certified by his father as a record from memory, and of that only the last two resolutions and the certificate were left. At the outset of his communication he gave the impression that no records of the convention had been kept, yet at a later point stated that he had in his possession a paper "written and signed by J. M. Alexander, and purports to be extracted from the old minutes". If no official records were kept, whence these minutes and when did his father take the notes from them? The Bancroft copy of these notes, which Mr. Hoyt has reproduced, shows that they bear on their face the evidence that they were written in 1800, and the Davie "copy", which was most likely a polished edition of those notes, was written some months after the burning of the house, and the certificate thereon stated that all had been lost therein. This proves that nothing came from original sources.

We might excuse Dr. Alexander's failure to see that the paper in the unknown hand contained statements contradictory of the rough notes in his father's hand and language stolen from Jefferson's immortal production, on the ground of lack of critical discernment, but for the fact that even after he got the Davie "copy" which should have set him straight he even more than before tried to keep up the deception. It will be seen in his certificate of Novem-

ber 25, 1830, to the rough notes and the anonymous paper, that Dr. Alexander still maintained that the latter paper and the Davie "copy" had both been copied from "the original record" despite the certificate by his father to the "Davie" copy. Again, the wording of this last certificate arouses suspicion: "As to the full sheet being in an unknown handwrite, it matters not who may have thus copyed the original record." But an examination of the anonymous paper, as shown by the Bancroft copy reproduced by Mr. Hoyt, reveals the fact that that paper was not copied from any other paper but was roughly constructed from the rough notes of the elder Alexander. There are too many blunders thereon that no copyist could have committed, however indifferent. Several times when the constructor of that paper followed too closely the rough notes and ran into matter that did not harmonize with statements previously made he scratched out the words and changed the construction. Notably is that the case in the paragraph referring to the "Court of Inquiry". The elder Alexander wrote: "And the first Court held in Charlotte after Cornwallis retreated retrograded or run away from Charlotte, the Court adjourned or rather appointed a Special Court of Enquiry". The person constructing from the rough notes started to put in something about Cornwallis but seeing that it would not harmonize with what had already been said about the import of the "Declaration" struck it out, constructing that paragraph as we see it in the *Raleigh Register*. Dr. Alexander certainly was intelligent enough to have seen upon comparing the two papers that the anonymous paper was simply an altered and enlarged version of the rough notes and not a copy of a record or minutes made in 1775, which could not have contained a reference to an event that occurred in 1780. And the following extracts from the minutes of the county court of Mecklenburg not only bear out the elder Alexander's reference in the rough notes to the Court of Enquiry, but show that the court was organized after Cornwallis's visit to Charlotte; that it had no connection with any action taken prior to the adoption of the North Carolina constitution of 1776, under which a county court had been established in Mecklenburg; and, finally, furnish us a clue to the origin of the tradition that John McKnitt Alexander was secretary of the body that passed the "Declaration":

January Session 1782.

Present: Abraham Alexander, Hezekiah Alexander, Robert Irwin, Edward Giles, William Wilson, John Flannikin, William Scott, Thomas Harris, and Samuel Blythe, Esquires. . . .

The court, consisting of 11 members, unanimously agreed to meet at the dwelling house of Major James Harris on Thursday the 7th day of Febr'y next, then and there to sit as a Court of Enquiry etc. and that they in their respective districts (especially in said Enterim do exert themselves to summon all persons therein whom they suspect to have forfeited their rites as citizens by joining, aiding or assisting our common enemy—or any person whom they know or suspect to have secreted any confiscated property, and that they likewise summon all evidences who they judge may be able to prove said crimes, and that each Justice apply to the militia officer for information etc. etc.

Ordered that the Clerk do immediately send at the expenses of the county to the absent justices in that quarter notifying them of the last mentioned resolutions etc. Viz. Robert Harris, junr. Dd. Reese, Martin Phifer, Danl. Jarret and Adam Alexander, Esqrs. and to Mr. James Reese, Commissioner.

. . . . . .

JNO. M'K. ALEXANDER
Clerk *pro tem.*

In the rough summary made by the elder Alexander in 1800 he made no reference to Cabarrus County as formerly a part of Mecklenburg. It is perfectly plain that either the author of the Sugar Creek valedictory made use of the narrative which was subsequently published in the *Raleigh Register* or the narrative was prepared after the valedictory was published and the valedictory was used by the author of the narrative. The similarity of expressions and the similarly injected extraneous matter about Cabarrus County seem to fix that beyond question. But, if the author of the valedictory had had access in 1809 to the document which appeared in the *Raleigh Register* in 1819, would he not have been more specific in his statements? Would he not have mentioned the personages referred to in that narrative? Would he not have quoted some of the very patriotic sentiments of the "Declaration"? Would he not have given the date 1775 instead of 1776? It is evident that the author of the narrative in the *Raleigh Register* drew on the Sugar Creek valedictory, and as a confirmation of that statement it will be observed that in his certificate to the manuscripts that he claimed to have found stitched together Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander refers to that Sugar Creek valedictory.

The only evidences to connect John McKnitt Alexander with the paper published in the *Raleigh Register* in 1819, are (a) Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander's statements in his unpublished certificate to the two papers he claimed to have found in his father's old mansion, that the paper in the unknown hand had two corrections in his father's handwriting (only one is so marked on the paper itself) and that it was "perfectly the same" as the Davie "copy",

and (b) the fragment of the Davie "copy", declared by Henderson to be in his handwriting.

If John McKnitt Alexander had had the paper in the unknown hand in his possession and had made two corrections thereon, it is strange that he failed to correct other statements thereon that were in conflict with the paper which he had himself written. Why did he not change "convention" to "committee" as he had it on his paper? Why did he not correct the statement that he was the secretary of the "convention"? Surely his memory was not so poor that he had forgotten that he had not held that position, which we are now able to prove that Brevard held? Is it likely that John McKnitt Alexander would have given his silent approval to a paper so totally at variance with the truth and with what he himself had written on another paper, and then have left the two papers to posterity without a word of comment as to the source of the paper which differed so much from that in his own handwriting? The certificate which he attached to the Davie "copy" discloses the fact that he was too careful and too honest a man to do any such thing. It is very doubtful if he ever saw that paper in the unknown hand, of which his son gave a copy to Davidson in 1819.

Henderson did not certify that the Davie "copy" was "perfectly the same" as the publication in the *Raleigh Register*, nor did anyone else who saw it before or after it fell into the hands of Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander so certify, and there is ample ground for the belief that Dr. Alexander tried to make the two resolutions that were left conform to the *Raleigh Register* publication after he got it. And notwithstanding his certificate that it was "perfectly the same" as the publication in the *Raleigh Register*, which he had been trying to impose upon the world as a genuine copy of the "Declaration", he nowhere mentioned or quoted the certificate which his father had placed upon it to show that it was not a genuine copy of the "Declaration" but an imperfect copy made from memory. Moreover, the Bancroft copy of the anonymous paper shows that it did differ from that in the *Raleigh Register*, though the Davie paper is asserted to be a twin copy of the original of the latter.

About 1853, ex-Governor D. L. Swain, who had been appointed historical agent of North Carolina, removed the Davie "copy" with other papers relating to the Mecklenburg "Declaration" from the state archives to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Whether he got the rough summary by John McKnitt Alexander and the paper in the unknown hand is not shown, but, fortunately for the truth of history, copies of these were made for Bancroft

while they were there. Mr. Hoyt has reproduced these. The Davie "copy" was examined at Chapel Hill by Professor Charles Phillips, of the university faculty, who contributed an admirable paper on the subject of the "Declaration" to the issue of the *North Carolina University Magazine* for May, 1853. In a subsequent letter to Lyman C. Draper, Professor Phillips stated that when he first saw the Davie "copy" it "contained the last two resolutions only, and the certificate" of John McKnitt Alexander, which was the conclusion of the document, thus confirming what Henderson had said about the condition in which it was when he got it. In another letter to Draper, Professor Phillips said: "There is no evidence that John McKnitt Alexander claimed for himself the Secretaryship in 1775." Draper adds: "That introductory portion, with the first three of the Resolves, had been torn off 'the Davie copy' before the document reached Gov. Swain and Prof. Phillips; so they had no opportunity of testing the handwriting."[10] In another private letter Professor Phillips said: "The condition of the originals in our possession here, the diversity of handwriting, the frequent interlineations, erasures, etc., show that the younger Alexander tried to set forth a poem in Alexandrian measure."

It is very doubtful, therefore, if the original Davie "copy" was "perfectly the same" as the paper in the unknown hand. By the fragment of it which was left it was impossible to show that it had ever contained the introductory narrative which was published in the *Raleigh Register,* and which contains so many statements at variance with well-established facts, or that the first three resolutions thereof were in the same language as the corresponding resolutions of the publication in the *Raleigh Register,* which contain all of the expressions stolen from the national Declaration of Independence. And it has been pretty conclusively shown that the fourth and fifth resolutions, which were left, and which, even in the *Raleigh Register* publication, contain nothing inconsistent with what John McKnitt Alexander wrote in his rough notes, were altered, and, even then, Professor Phillips, who compared the two original papers, says that the two resolutions differ in the two documents in perhaps one important particular.

It is now perfectly clear that the document given to Davidson by Dr. Alexander and subsequently published in the *Raleigh Register* was a fabrication; that Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander gave it to the world as a genuine copy of an original, although, by his subse-

[10] Lyman C. Draper's MS. history of the Mecklenburg "Declaration", vol. I., ch. IV. (Wisconsin State Historical Society.)

quent admission, he did not know its origin; and that when he himself discovered evidence to show that it was not a copy of an original he continued to deceive the public into believing that it was. In the absence of the anonymous paper, the rough notes by John McKnitt Alexander and the fragment of the Davie "copy", a charge of forgery against Dr. Alexander could not be directly proven, but we submit that the circumstantial evidence against him is very strong; strong enough to convict any man of fewer champions.

Mr. Hoyt's book shows that in addition to the original spurious "Declaration" there have been four or five fraudulent compilations or flagrant forgeries committed at various times since 1819 to sustain the validity thereof, the most notorious of them being the Millington Miller forgery of a *Cape-Fear Mercury* of June 3, 1775, containing the alleged "Declaration", noticed in this magazine in April, 1906.

A. S. Salley, Jr.

THE RECORDS OF THE FEDERAL CONVENTION

When the Federal Convention met in Philadelphia in 1787, for the purpose of rendering the Articles of Confederation "adequate to the exigencies of Government and the preservation of the Union", the members of that body were duly aware of the importance of the work they were about to undertake. Some of them were impressed with a sense of their own importance. Men were accustomed in those days to rely for their information more upon private correspondence than upon newspapers—that is, to do their own reporting—and so quite naturally, although there was an official secretary, many of the members of this important convention kept notes of the proceedings for their own use. In the years immediately preceding when the various states had adopted their constitutions, a few days, or a few weeks at most, had been sufficient for the framing of those instruments of government; but in a national assembly the conflicting interests of states and sections could not be reconciled in any short space of time. The very importance of the work protracted the sessions of the Federal Convention beyond expectation. Convening nominally on May 14, but owing to lack of a quorum unable to begin regular work until the 25th, the Convention remained in continuous session until September 17.[1] Other public duties or private interests called away many of the members, and most of those who remained became tired and even irritable: so that of all those who started out so carefully to keep notes of the proceedings, at the present time we know of no one but James Madison who persisted to the end.

Information upon the Convention's Proceedings, 1787–1818

The sessions of the Convention were secret; before the final adjournment the secretary was directed to deposit "the Journals and other papers of the Convention in the hands of the President", and in answer to an inquiry of Washington's, the Convention resolved "that he retain the Journal and other papers subject to the

[1] There was an adjournment of two days over the Fourth of July; and another of ten days between July 26 and August 6 to allow the Committee of Detail to prepare its report.

order of Congress, if ever formed under the Constitution".[2] It was understood that the members would regard the proceedings as confidential, and in general this understanding was lived up to.[3] But when the question of the adoption of the Constitution was before the country, to refrain from all allusion as to what had taken place in the framing of that document, was too much to ask of human nature.

1. Franklin, moved by a pardonable vanity, copied with his own hand several of his speeches for distribution among his friends. Some of these, and particularly his plea at the close of the Convention for unanimous action, quickly found their way into print.[4]

2. Charles Pinckney lost no time in printing, both in pamphlet form[5] and in a South Carolina newspaper,[6] what is probably a speech he had prepared to deliver at the time when he submitted his plan of government, but which he was prevented from delivering by the lateness of the hour.[7]

3. In practically all of the state conventions upon the adoption of the Constitution, delegates who had been members of the Federal Convention referred to the proceedings of that body and sometimes, in the excitement of debate, made very definite statements as to its action upon particular questions. The proceedings of several of these conventions were printed, and at an early date.[8]

4. The Maryland delegates were required by their instructions to report the proceedings of the Federal Convention to the legislature of their state, and Luther Martin's report was published early in 1788 under the title, *The Genuine Information . . . relative to the Proceedings of the General Convention, lately held at Philadelphia. . . .* This document is more of an arraignment of the action of the majority than a report of the proceedings of the whole Con-

[2] *Documentary History of the Constitution*, III. 769–770.

[3] Both Washington and Madison felt strongly that the proceedings of the Convention should not be made public during the life-times of the members, or at least not as long as the opinions any member might have expressed in debate could in any way be used to his prejudice. J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 175, and *Documentary History of the Constitution*, V. 310.

[4] Carey's *American Museum* for December, 1787.

[5] *Observations on the Plan of Government Submitted to the Federal Convention, in Philadelphia, on the 28th of May, 1787* (New York [1787]).

[6] *State Gazette* of South Carolina, October 29–November 29, 1787. (J. F. Jameson, *Studies in the History of the Federal Convention*, in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1902, p. 116, note.)

[7] See Professor McLaughlin's explanation of the identity of this speech in AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, IX. 735–741.

[8] For a list of printed debates of the state conventions, see Jameson, *Studies*, 164–167.

vention, but some interesting information may be extracted from it.[9]

5. For a year after the Convention was over the public press was filled with arguments for and against the Constitution.[10] In this controversy, no small part was taken by members of the Convention, and not infrequently information was given upon what had taken place in Philadelphia. This was notably the case when Ellsworth indulged in some rather sharp personal criticisms of Gerry and Martin, and goaded those men to reply.[11]

6. Similarly when constitutional questions arose in Congress after the new government was in operation, statements were made as to what had been said or done in the Federal Convention, in order to support the speaker's argument.[12]

Political capital was made of the fact that Hamilton was supposed to have proposed in the Convention a monarchical form of government, and in support of that contention his sketch of a plan of government, submitted in his speech of June 18, was printed at least as early as 1801, "with a view of destroying his popularity and influence".[13]

But all of these dealt with personalities or scattered incidents of the Convention, and presented no connected account of the whole. Something more of an attempt in the latter direction appeared a few years later, though again its purpose was purely political. Robert Yates of New York had kept notes of the proceedings of the Convention, as long as he remained in attendance upon its sessions, and a copy of these was made by his colleague, John Lansing. This copy seems to have come into the possession of E. C. Genet,[14] former minister from France, who published anonymously in 1808 an abstract of it in *A Letter to the Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States*.[15] This pamphlet was intended to

[9] In the *Maryland Gazette* or *Baltimore Advertiser* of February 15, 1788, and in Carey's *American Museum*, III. 362–363, were printed the "Resolves proposed to the Convention by the Honorable Mr. Paterson, and mentioned in Mr. Martin's Information to the House of Assembly." Jameson, *Studies in the History of the Federal Convention*, p. 138.

[10] See "Reference List" in P. L. Ford, *Bibliography of the Constitution*.

[11] November, 1787–April, 1788, reprinted in P. L. Ford, *Essays on the Constitution of the United States*.

The relevant portions of a letter of William Pierce to St. George Tucker, dated September 28, 1787, in which the former gave his general impressions of the work of the Convention were printed in the *Georgia Gazette* of March 20, 1788 (American Historical Review, III. 311), and indicate a class of material that would be included here.

[12] See, for example, *Annals of Congress*, Fifth Congress, II. 1967, 1992, 2003.

[13] See Jameson, *Studies*, p. 148.

[14] See below, p. 50 and note 30.

[15] A copy is in the Library of Congress.

be an attack upon Madison, who was then a candidate for the presidency, and the extracts from Yates's notes were used to show that in the Convention Madison had been in favor of a "consolidated government". Although almost all the extracts are direct quotations, the writer has cleverly pieced them together in such a way that Madison stands out conspicuously as the leader of the national party in the Convention. A few years later (1813) this abstract was reprinted in Hall's *American Law Journal.*

The Journal, 1819

After the War of 1812, the questions of protective tariffs and internal improvements raised constitutional issues of great importance, and quite probably because of this, Congress by a joint resolution in 1818 directed the publication of the "Journal . . . and all Acts and Proceedings" of the Federal Convention, which were in the possession of the government. Accordingly there was printed at Boston in 1819, *Journal, Acts and Proceedings, of the Convention, . . . which formed the Constitution of the United States,*[15] an octavo volume of some 500 pages. Although it is nowhere stated in the work itself, it is well known that John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, was the editor, and from his *Memoirs* we learn of the difficulties under which he labored in preparing the material for the press.[17]

This printed *Journal* included merely a formal statement of the opening and adjournment of each day's session, the motions that were before the house—occasionally including the names of the mover and seconder—the determination of each question and, in most cases, the vote by states. Great disappointment was, and has been since expressed at the meagreness of the information thus afforded in matters so closely related to important issues, but the accuracy of the *Journal's* records as far as they go has hardly been questioned.[18] Indeed, it has been accepted as the official record of the formal proceedings of the Convention.

Recently (1894) the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Depart-

[16] The *Journal* was reprinted in 1830 as volume IV. of the first edition of Elliot's *Debates.* In the second edition, 1836, and in all subsequent editions, it appears as volume I.

[17] John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs,* IV. 174–387, *passim.*

[18] Madison was the only person really in a position to raise such questions, and he goes no farther than in several cases to note discrepancies between his own record and that of the *Journal*—in some cases, indeed, intimating and in others plainly stating his conviction that the *Journal* is wrong—and Madison's general acceptance of the *Journal's* records is clearly shown elsewhere in this article. See below, pp. 53–56.

ment of State has reprinted with scrupulous accuracy, in volume I. of the *Documentary History of the Constitution*,[19] the papers of the Federal Convention that were left by the secretary[20] and later deposited by Washington with the department. We are now in a position to appreciate the task of editing that fell to the lot of John Quincy Adams, and to pass judgment upon the finality of the records embodied in the *Journal* as printed.

In the first place, it is altogether misleading to speak of the printed *Journal* as if it were an official record. It is much better to say that there was an official secretary who, either through incompetence or neglect, kept what according to Adams "were no better than the daily minutes from which the regular journal ought to have been, but never was, made out".[21] These minutes consist of the formal journal of the Convention, including its sessions when in Committee of the Whole House, and a separate table giving the detail of ayes and noes on the various questions.[22] In the second place, while the detail of ayes and noes contains upwards of six hundred votes, there are from sixty to seventy of these votes to which no questions are attached. And in the third place, a careful comparison of the journal with the detail of ayes and noes shows that there are many questions in the former for which no votes can be found in the latter, and many questions and votes in the latter which are not included in the former. The accompanying photo-

[19] Volume I. of the *Documentary History of the Constitution* originally appeared in two instalments as appendices to *Bulletins* 1 and 3 of the Bureau of Rolls and Library. Only 750 copies were printed. The *Report of the Public Printer* for the year ending June 30, 1900, Cong. Docs., 4029: 19, p. 161, shows 250 copies printed upon requisition of the Department of State. In 1901 Congress ordered to be printed 7,000 copies of vols. I.–III. of the *Documentary History*. In this Congressional edition there are some minor changes in type, spacing, etc., and Charles Pinckney's letter of December 30, 1818, to John Quincy Adams, is inserted, in volume I., pp. 309–311, changing the page numbering of the pages following.

[20] In a formal note to Washington on the last day of the Convention, Jackson states that he will burn "all the loose scraps of paper which belong to the Convention" before turning over the papers to the president. *Doc. Hist.*, IV. 281.

[21] J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 385. If one may judge from the letters that have been preserved, Jackson owed his appointment as secretary rather to the importunity of his application than to any conviction of his fitness for the position. *Cf. Doc. Hist. of the Constitution*, IV. 121–122, 169; R. H. Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee*, II. 319–320; Rowland, *Life of George Mason*, II. 102. As he himself seems to have taken notes of the debates in addition to his formal minutes, Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 174–175; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, sixth series, VIII. 237; Hazard's *Pennsylvania Register*, II. 386, it is possible that he somewhat neglected his official duties in order to make his private records more complete.

[22] This detail of ayes and noes is written partly on loose sheets and partly in a bound blank-book.

1 N. H.		2 Mass.	3 C.	4 R. I.	5 N. Y.	6 N. J.	7 P.	8 D.	9 Mary.	10 V.	11 N. C.	12 S. C.	13 ?
		aye	aye		no		no	aye		no	no	aye	.
		aye	no		divd.		aye	aye		aye	aye	aye	
		aye	aye		aye		aye			aye	aye	aye	
		aye	aye		aye		no	aye		aye	aye	aye	
		aye	divd.		aye	no	aye	divd.		aye	aye	no	aye
0	0	no	no		no	no	no	divd.		no	no	no	no
3	7	aye	no		no	no	no	no		aye	no	aye	no
9	—	aye	divd.		aye	aye	aye	aye		aye	aye	aye	aye
5	4	divided	no	[illegible]	aye	aye	aye	aye		aye	no	no	no
3	7	no	no		aye		aye	no	aye	no	no	no	no
2	7	no	no		divided		aye	no	aye	no	no	no	no
2	8	aye	aye		aye		no	aye	no	aye	aye	aye	aye
3	7	no	aye		no		no	no	no	no	no	aye	aye
1	9	no	no		no		no	aye	no	no	no	no	no
2	7	aye	no	[illegible]	aye		divided	aye	aye	aye	aye	aye	no
6	4	aye	aye		aye		no	no	no	no	aye	aye	aye
7	3	aye	aye	[illegible]	no		aye	no	no	aye	aye	aye	aye
6	4	aye	no	—	aye		aye	no	no	no	aye	aye	aye
6	10	no	no	[illegible]	no		no	no	no	no	no	no	no
		no	no		no		no	no	no	no	no	no	no
2	8	aye	no	[illegible]	aye		aye	aye	no	aye	aye	aye	aye
9	2	aye	no		aye		aye	aye	aye	aye	aye	no	aye
8	2	aye	no	[illegible]	aye		aye	no	aye	aye	aye	aye	aye
7	3	aye	aye	—	aye		[illegible] aye	aye	aye	no	aye	no	no
6	4	divided aye	aye	.	no	aye	no	no	aye	aye	no	aye	aye
6	5	no	aye	[illegible]	aye	no	aye	aye	aye	aye	no	no	no
5	4	divided	aye	[illegible]	divd.	aye	no	no	no	no	aye	aye	aye
7	3	aye	no		divd	no	aye	aye	aye	aye	aye	no	aye

graph of the first page of this table will show better than any long description or criticism the looseness of the secretary's methods.[23]

The task of editing was evidently not an easy one, and for a time Adams regarded it as almost hopeless. Even Jackson, the secretary of the Convention, was unable to help him out. Adams reports that he called and "looked over the papers, but he had no recollection of them which could remove the difficulties arising from their disorderly state, nor any papers to supply the deficiency of the missing papers".[24] With the expenditure of considerable time and labor, of which he complains bitterly,[25] and with the exercise of no little ingenuity, Adams was finally able to collate the whole to his satisfaction. General Bloomfield supplied him with several important documents from the papers of David Brearley; Charles Pinckney sent him a copy of the plan he "believed" to be the one he presented to the Convention;[26] Madison furnished the means of completing the records of the last four days;[27] and Adams felt that "with all these papers suitably arranged, a correct and tolerably clear view of the proceedings of the Convention may be presented".

It is evident that the ascription of the votes from the detail of ayes and noes, where no questions were attached, to their respective questions in the journal, and the insertion in the journal of questions and votes that were taken from the detail of ayes and noes to supply omissions in the text of the journal, were matters of more or less uncertainty.[28] Mistakes were inevitable. Some of these in ascribing votes to the wrong questions are important; others, such as the assignment of questions to a wrong place in the proceedings, are of less importance; some are insignificant.[29] But in view of these mistakes, and because of the suspicion that would rest upon notes so carelessly kept as were the minutes of the secretary, the

[23] It is only fair to say that the secretary seems to have profited by experience, and that the later pages of the detail of ayes and noes are not as bad as the first, although uncertainty and confusion are by no means eliminated.

[24] *Memoirs*, IV. 174–175.

[25] *Ibid.*, IV. 174–387, *passim*.

[26] *Ibid.*, IV. 365. These papers are included among those reprinted in *Doc. Hist.*, I.

[27] Evidently from this fact arose the belief that Madison revised the *Journal* before it was sent to the press, but the correspondence, as well as internal evidence, proves conclusively that this was not the case.

[28] Take for instance the first page of votes as shown in the photograph. The ninth is the first for which a question is given, and is thus readily identified with the question in the journal of the Committee of the Whole of June 1. For the preceding eight votes, there was nothing for the editor to do but to trace back the questions in the journal and to ascribe the votes to them according as they were passed in the affirmative or the negative.

[29] See below, pp. 54–56.

printed *Journal* cannot be relied upon. The statement of questions in the great majority of cases is probably accurate, but the determination of those questions, and in particular the votes upon them, require confirmation or can be accepted only tentatively.

Yates, and Pierce, 1821–1828

When the seal of secrecy had been broken by the publication of the *Journal*, Yates's notes were printed (1821) in full. They bear the imprint of an Albany firm, but J. C. Hamilton stated that Genet was the one responsible for their publication.[30] They were entitled *Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Convention Assembled . . . for the Purpose of Forming the Constitution*, etc. Luther Martin's *Genuine Information* was included in this work.[31] As Yates and his colleague Lansing left the Convention early—because they felt that their instructions did not warrant them in countenancing, even by their presence, the action which the Convention was taking—these notes cease with the fifth of July. For the earlier days of the Convention the notes of proceedings are quite brief; and while the reports are somewhat fuller after the presentation of the New Jersey plan on June 15, it was evident that they did not give at all a complete picture of the proceedings, though they threw a great deal of light upon what had taken place, and in particular upon the attitude of individuals in the debates.

Just as Genet earlier had made use of these notes in an attack upon Madison, so now prompt advantage of this material was taken by political partizans. Extracts were at once used in the newspapers to charge Madison with inconsistency between his position in the Convention and that which he had subsequently taken. Without waiting to see the work itself, and basing his judgment solely upon the newspaper extracts referred to, Madison pronounced the notes of Yates as "not only a very mutilated but a very erroneous edition of the matter to which it relates".[32] This dictum of Madison's has been very generally accepted in later years, but Yates's notes excited considerable interest and were much valued at the time of their

[30] J. C. Hamilton, *Life of Alexander Hamilton*, II. 466, note.

[31] The documents in the appendix, such as the Randolph Resolutions, etc., were copied from the printed *Journal*.

[32] Letters to Joseph Gales of August 26, and to Thomas Ritchie, September 15, 1821. *Doc. Hist. of the Constitution*, V. 308–312.

In 1829, in writing to J. C. Cabell, *Doc. Hist. of the Const.*, V. 349–350, Madison described Yates's notes as "crude and broken". Personal feeling might account for some of this, for Madison went on to say: "When I looked over them some years ago, I was struck with a number of instances in which he had totally mistaken what was said by me."

publication. They were reprinted in Elliot's *Debates*,[33] and in separate editions in several cities in the South and West.[34]

William Pierce, a member from Georgia, also printed some brief notes and character sketches in the *Savannah Georgian* for April, 1828, but they seem to have attracted but little contemporary notice.[35]

The interest that was evidently aroused by these publications seems to have called forth a number of anecdotes, which were more or less traditional. The most interesting of these was one related by a certain William Steele upon the authority of Dayton. The point of the story lies in Hamilton's opposition to Franklin's motion for the reading of prayers when the Convention seemed likely to break up before the adoption of the "great compromise". Hamilton is reported to have delivered a "high strained eulogium on the assemblage of *wisdom, talent*, and *experience*", and to have reached a climax with the claim that the Convention was in no need of "calling in *foreign aid*". The anecdote is so inaccurate in every other particular, that no credence can be placed in it, nor would it be worthy of mention, had it not received somewhat wide circulation.[36]

Madison, 1840

James Madison died in 1836. His manuscripts were purchased by Congress, and shortly afterwards, in 1840, under the editorship of H. D. Gilpin, *The Papers of James Madison* were published in three volumes.[37] More than half of this work was given over to his notes of the debates in the Federal Convention,[38] and at once

[33] In volume IV. of the first edition, and in volume I. of all subsequent editions.

[34] Washington, Richmond, Cincinnati, and Louisville, 1836–1844.

[35] Reprinted in American Historical Review, III. 310–334.

[36] The anecdote appeared in the *National Intelligencer* for August 26, 1826, where it is cited as from the *New York Gazette*. It was reprinted in the *New York Observer*, April 27, 1850, and in *Littell's Living Age* for May 25, 1850. An introductory note in *Littell's* states that it "was published in the *Daily Advertiser* in 1825".

Madison undoubtedly refers to this in a letter to Jared Sparks, April 8, 1831—"It was during that period of gloom that Dr Franklin made the proposition for a religious service in the Convention, an account of which was so erroneously given, with every semblance of authenticity, through the National Intelligencer, several years ago." Sparks, *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, I. 285.

[37] Washington: Langtree and O'Sullivan. Other issues of this edition with change of date were published in New York, Mobile, and Boston. P. L. Ford, *Bibliography of the Constitution*.

[38] The Debates entire and some of the other material from Gilpin were published in a revised form as volume V. of Elliot's *Debates* in 1845. Albert, Scott and Company (Chicago, 1893), reprinted, both in a two-volume and a one-volume edition, the Gilpin text of the Debates, but inexcusably entitled the work *The Journal of the Federal Convention*. Gaillard Hunt includes the Debates in volumes III. and IV. of his edition of *The Writings of James Madison* (New

all other records paled into insignificance. Many years before Jefferson had been given an opportunity to examine these notes, and in 1815 he wrote to John Adams:

> Do you know that there exists in manuscript the ablest work of this kind ever yet executed, of the debates of the constitutional convention of Philadelphia in 1788? The whole of everything said and done there was taken down by Mr. Madison, with a labor and exactness beyond comprehension.[39]

Charles Pinckney stated in 1818 that he would have made public some account of what had taken place in the Convention, "had I not always understood Mr. Madison intended it—he alone I believed possessed and retained more numerous and particular notes of their proceedings than myself".[40]

Before his death Madison had written a preface to the Debates, in which he explained with what care the material was gathered and written up:[41]

> I chose a seat in front of the presiding member, with the other members, on my right and left hand. In this favorable position for hearing all that passed, I noted in terms legible and in abbreviations and marks intelligible to myself what was read from the Chair or spoken by the members; and losing not a moment unnecessarily between the adjournment and reassembling of the Convention I was enabled to write out my daily notes during the session or within a few finishing days after its close.[42]

Indeed Madison was evidently regarded by his fellow-members in the Convention as a semi-official reporter of their proceedings, for several of them took pains to see that he was supplied with copies of their speeches and motions.[43] And from the day of their

York, Putnams, 1900), again unfortunately entitling them the "*Journal*". Mr. Hunt states in the preface to volume III. that the "original manuscript has been followed with rigid accuracy", which is apparently true, but with one important limitation—the original manuscript was not copied, but the Gilpin text was corrected from the manuscript; accordingly a large number of errors (minor ones, in general) to be found in Gilpin will be found in the Hunt text also. Hunt's text is not quite as accurate as that of the *Documentary History* (referred to below), but it is more readily usable, because it is free from the confusing manuscript corrections embodied in the *Documentary History*.

[39] P. L. Ford, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, IX. 528.

[40] To John Quincy Adams, December 30, 1818. Printed in the *Nation*, May 23, 1895, and in *Documentary History*, I. 309–311. See above, p. 48, note 19.

[41] Gilpin, *Papers of Madison*, 716–717. *Doc. Hist.*, III. 7960. See below, note 44.

[42] "Mr. Madison told Governor Edward Coles that the labor of writing out the debates, added to the confinement to which his attendance in Convention subjected him, almost killed him; but that having undertaken the task, he was determined to accomplish it." H. B. Grigsby, *Virginia Federal Convention of 1788*, I. 95, note.

[43] Notice for example Franklin's speeches, Charles Pinckney's effort on June 25, and see below, note 58, on G. Morris's corrections.

publication until the present, Madison's notes of the Debates have remained the standard authority for the proceedings of the Convention.

In 1900 the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State reprinted Madison's Debates with great care as volume III. of the *Documentary History of the Constitution*,[44] and in such a way as to show the corrections and changes Madison made in his manuscript.[45] As in the case of the *Journal*, we are now in a position to judge of the editing to which these notes were subjected before being printed, and also to learn many facts of importance with regard to the notes themselves.

In the first place, as was the practice of the time, the first editor, H. D. Gilpin, took considerable liberties with the text. In order to make a smooth readable account, he corrected freely both spelling and punctuation; he filled out abbreviations; and he even modified the wording in many cases, notably in the form of recording votes.[46]

In the next place, it is evident at once that Madison went over his notes after the publication of the *Journal* in 1819, and not only in some cases noted differences between his own record and that of the *Journal*, but also in many cases corrected his own notes from the *Journal*. In the wording of motions, this is not to be wondered at, for Madison, during the sessions of the Convention, in his haste to note what the speaker was saying could do no more than take down the substance of motions and resolutions, while these would be copied into the journal in full.[47] Nor is it surprising, when we remember that Madison accepted the printed *Journal* as authoritative, to find him in not a few cases copying from it proceedings of which he had no record.[48] But the importance of this fact is evident

[44] Appeared originally as an appendix to *Bulletin* no. 9 of the Bureau of Rolls and Library. For subsequent editions, see above, note 19. The Congressional edition of 1901 inserts (pp. 796*a*–796*o*) Madison's introduction to his Debates, of which only a partial version had appeared on pp. 1–7 of the previous edition.

[45] The preparation of the material for this volume of the *Documentary History* was more difficult than for the *Journal*, and the work has not been done as accurately nor as satisfactorily. The present writer has noticed a considerable number of mistakes in the reading of the manuscript—some of which are important—and, as is shown below, note 61, the person who did the work was frequently misled in the endeavor to indicate corrections in the manuscript.

[46] See below, note 48.

[47] There are over one hundred such cases of the revision of motions, etc., and this does not include a very large number of minor changes in wording. Sometimes these modifications were so extensive that the margins of the manuscript were insufficient and necessitated the pasting in of slips of paper.

[48] Again there are over one hundred such items in the proceedings of the Convention which Madison copied from the *Journal*; and if the vote, or decision, upon it be considered as distinct from the motion, the number would be nearly

at once, for these items have been accepted upon the double record of the *Journal* and Madison, whereas they are in reality to be stated upon the authority of the *Journal* alone.

But Madison went even one step farther and actually changed his records of votes in the Convention in order to bring them into conformity with the *Journal*. This might involve the change of the vote of a single state, or of several states, or even reverse his record of the decision of the Convention. There are upwards of forty instances in which Madison noted differences between his own record and that of the *Journal* without changing his own record,[49] but the number of cases in which he has made his record conform to the *Journal* is still larger. On what basis or for what reasons Madison felt justified in changing his records of votes is not to be ascertained conclusively. Sometimes it seems to have been done because the records of the *Journal* and Yates were in accord in their disagreement with him; sometimes he probably saw that subsequent action in the Convention proved the record of the *Journal* to be correct, and his own to be wrong; sometimes it was done because the vote of a state as recorded in the *Journal* harmonized better with the sentiments of the delegates from that state as expressed in their speeches; and sometimes there is no apparent reason.

The matter might be merely of antiquarian interest, were it not for the fact already noticed that the printed *Journal* is itself unreliable, and that there are several cases where Madison has made

two hundred. Most of the detailed votes that were thus copied (considerably over fifty) are readily distinguishable. Madison invariably recorded votes by giving the states in geographical order, doubtless as they were called in the Convention, whereas the printed *Journal* grouped the ayes and noes together. Thus the last vote on June 19 was recorded as follows:

> Madison—"Massts. ay. Cont. ay. N. Y. no. N. J. no. Pa. ay. Del. no Md. divd. Va. ay. S. C. ay. Geo. ay."
>
> Printed *Journal*—"YEAS—Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia 7
> NAYS—New York, New Jersey, Delaware..... 3
> DIVIDED—Maryland ..... 1"

Accordingly, whenever we find in Madison's notes the ayes and noes grouped together, we may be fairly sure that it was not a record made by Madison at the time, but that it has been taken upon another's authority and probably upon that of the *Journal*. The other two votes of this same day happen to furnish an excellent illustration of this. This was not discoverable from the printed editions of Madison's Debates previous to the publication of the *Documentary History*, for the reason that Gilpin rearranged the votes in a form similar to that of the *Journal*, and all subsequent editions were simply modified reprints of Gilpin.

[49] This includes differences in wording of resolutions, etc., as well as differences in votes. The plain statement of some of these notes, and the implication of others, is that in these cases Madison believes in the correctness of his own records.

corrections from the *Journal* that are undoubtedly mistaken. An instance may be taken from the first days of the Convention to illustrate this. On May 31, the Convention, in Committee of the Whole, took up the third of the Randolph Resolutions, "that the National Legislature ought to consist of two branches". Madison originally recorded that this resolution "was agreed to without debate or dissent". The printed *Journal* (p. 85) gives the vote as seven states in the affirmative and one state, Pennsylvania, in the negative. By referring to the detail of ayes and noes of the secretary's records,[50] we find that this vote is one of those for which no question is given and there is no clue to its identity from the adjoining votes. John Quincy Adams's assignment of it to this particular question was then largely a matter of guess-work. The fact that there were ten states present and voting on May 31, and only eight states on May 30, creates a strong presumption against the accuracy of this assignment. Moreover, the correctness of Madison's record is confirmed by Yates, who states that "The 3d resolve . . . was taken into consideration, and without any debate agreed to."[51] McHenry also confirms it in that he gives votes for the questions following, but reports this simply as "agreed to".[52] Madison, however, assuming that the printed *Journal* was authoritative, modified his record so that it reads that this resolution "was agreed to without debate or dissent, *except that of Pennsylvania, given probably from complaisance to Docr Franklin who was understood to be partial to a single House of Legislation*".[53] Not only did he revise his record to make it conform to the *Journal*, but he gave a wholly unwarrantable explanation of the new record.

Other mistaken changes occur. There are several questions and votes that Madison copied into his manuscript from the printed *Journal* without at all observing that he had these same questions and votes recorded in another place, sometimes even on the same day. An examination of the original records shows again that in most of these cases the questions were not to be found in the body of the journal but were incorporated into the text by John Quincy Adams. They are only to be found in the detail of ayes and noes, and their relative position in the proceedings could only be inferred from the order in which the votes happened to be recorded.

It is not surprising, indeed, to find that Madison was thus misled

[50] See fourth vote in photograph.

[51] Edition of 1821, p. 99.

[52] American Historical Review, XI. 601.

[53] The italics are not in the manuscript, but are used here to indicate the part added.

by the mistakes in the printed *Journal*, for if his own records were correct, these would be the very points in which the discrepancies would occur. It is only necessary then to recognize Madison's evident acceptance of the *Journal* as authoritative, to expect him to incorporate these mistakes in his Debates.[54]

Another extensive set of corrections is to be found in the speeches made in debate. These are generally in the form of additions to Madison's original record. It will be remembered that because of misquotations of his own remarks Madison condemned Yates's notes severely, as being "a very erroneous edition of the matter". It is more than surprising, then, to discover that these additions were taken from Yates. Such proves to have been the case, however, and in over fifty instances. There were a number of speeches or remarks, including several of his own, that Madison failed to note in any form, but later thought worthy of inclusion. And there were also new ideas or shades of thought which Yates had noticed but which Madison had failed to catch. Of slight importance, but interesting, is a case on June 23, where Madison in reporting Mason's allusion to himself, referred as usual to "Mr. Madison", but substituted from Yates the better form of "my colleague", and then returned the compliment in referring to Mason a few pages farther on. And still more interesting is the fact that Madison actually revised from Yates a portion of the very speech, for the misreporting of which he had condemned Yates so severely. The following citations in parallel columns will illustrate the character of this unacknowledged borrowing:[55]

Yates.	*Madison.*
June 2.	
"Mr. Randolph. . . . He preferred three divisions of the states, and an executive to be taken from each. . . . He was therefore for an executive of three."	"Mr. Randolph. . . . He was in favor of three members of the Executive to be drawn from different portions of the Country."

[54] It should be noted that Madison was at least seventy years old when these revisions of his manuscript were made, and it is not to be wondered at that he did not always show the accuracy and discrimination for which the work of his earlier years has given him a reputation. And if it be true, as suggested below, note 61, that Madison made these revisions at two different times, it would be quite natural for him to make more radical changes in the second revision, when he had accustomed himself to the idea of changes being necessary, or had forgotten the criteria of his earlier revision.

[55] The citations of Yates are from the first edition (1821), those of Madison from the *Documentary History*. Madison's manuscript shows that all of these passages are interpolations; see below, pp. 59–60.

June 11.

"Mr. Butler supported the motion, by observing that money is strength; and every state ought to have its weight in the national council in proportion to the quantity it possesses."	"Mr. Butler urged the same idea: adding that money was power; and that the States ought to have weight in the Govt—in proportion to their wealth."
. . . . .	. . . . .
"Mr. Gerry. The idea of property ought not to be the rule of representation. Blacks are property, and are used to the southward as horses and cattle to the northward; and why should their representation be increased to the southward on account of the number of slaves, than horses or oxen to the north?"	"Mr. Gerry thought property not the rule of representation. Why then shd. the blacks, who were property in the South, be in the rule of representation more than the cattle and horses of the North."

June 22.

"Mr. Madison. I oppose this motion. Members are too much interested in the question. Besides, it is indecent that the legislature should put their hands in the public purse to convey it into their own."	"Mr. Madison, thought the members of the Legisl. too much interested to ascertain their own compensation. It wd. be indecent to put their hands into the public purse for the sake of their own pockets."
. . . . .	. . . . .
"Judge Elsworth. If we are so exceedingly jealous of state legislatures, will they not have reason to be equally jealous of us? If I return to my state and tell them, we made such and such regulations for a general government, because we dared not trust you with any extensive powers, will they be satisfied? nay, will they adopt your government? and let it ever be remembered, that without their approbation your government is nothing more than a rope of sand."	"Mr. Elsworth. If we are jealous of the State Govts. they will be so of us. If on going home I tell them we gave the Gen: Govt. such powers because we cd. not trust you,—will they adopt it, and witht yr. approbation it is a nullity."[56]
. . . . .	. . . . .

[56] The present writer's attention was called to the indebtedness of Madison to Yates by this speech of Ellsworth's. Madison invariably reported the speeches in the third person, and this slip into direct discourse suggested a comparison with Yates, who generally reported the speakers in the first person. Some results of that comparison are here shown.

June 23.

	"Genl. Pinckney. . . . It wd. seem from the ideas of some that we are erecting a Kingdom to be divided agst. itself, he disapproved such a fetter on the Legislature.
"Mr. Sherman. By the conduct of some gentlemen, we are erecting a kingdom to act against itself. The legislature ought to be free and unbiassed."	"Mr. Sherman. . . . It wd. seem that we are erecting a Kingdom at war with itself. The Legislature ought not to be fettered in such a case."[57]
. . . . .	. . . . .
"Mr. Mason. We must retain this clause, otherwise evasions may be made. The legislature may admit of resignations and thus make members eligible—places may be promised at the close of their duration, and that a dependency may be made.	"Col. Mason thought this essential to guard agst. evasions by resignations, and stipulations for office to be filled at the expiration of the legislative term. Mr. Gerry, had known such a case. Mr. Hamilton. Evasions cd. not be prevented—as by proxies—by friends holding for a year, and them opening the way etc. Mr. Rutlidge admitted the possibility of evasions, but was for contracting them as possible."
"Mr. Gerry. And this actually has been the case in congress—a member resigned to obtain an appointment, and had it failed he would have resumed it.	
"Mr. Hamilton. The clause may be evaded many ways. Offices may be held by proxy—they may be procured by friends, etc.	
"Mr. Rutledge. I admit, in some cases, it may be evaded; but this is no argument against shutting the door as close as possible."	

June 25.

"Dr. Johnson. The state governments must be preserved: but this motion leaves them at the will and pleasure of the general government.	"Docr. Johnson urged the necessity of preserving the State Govts—which would be at the mercy of the Genl. Govt. on Mr. Wilson's plan.
"Mr. Madison. I find great differences of opinion in this convention on the clause now under consideration. Let us postpone it in order to take up the 8th resolve, that we may previously determine the mode of representation."	"Mr. Madison thought it wd. obviate difficulty if the present resol: were postponed, and the 8th taken up, which is to fix the right of suffrage in the 2d. branch."

[57] Madison here made a slip in copying. He first added this passage to his own report of General Pinckney's speech; then, noticing his mistake, rewrote it and ascribed it to Sherman, and forgot to cross out the former record.

July 5.

"Mr. Wilson. The committee has exceeded their powers.	"Mr. Wilson thought the Committee had exceeded their powers.
"Mr. Martin proposed to take the question on the whole of the report.	"Mr. Martin was for taking the question on the whole report.
"Mr. Wilson. I do not chuse to take a leap in the dark. I have a right to call for a division of the question on each distinct proposition."	"Mr. Wilson was for a division of the question; otherwise it wd. be a leap in the dark."[58]

The statements made in the preceding paragraphs as to when and how Madison revised his manuscript may seem to be somewhat dogmatic, or at least to be more positive than can be warranted by such insufficient evidence. It is true that the conclusions here expressed were reached by a method which involves some *a priori* reasoning. Their accuracy, however, is established by an additional fact. In a letter to Thomas Ritchie of September 15, 1821, after the publication of Yates's *Secret Proceedings*, Madison expressed his immediate intention of preparing his notes of the Convention's proceedings for future, and probably posthumous, publication.[59] An examination of the manuscript[60] proves that most of the changes that were thus made are easily recognizable. The ink which was used at the later

[58] There are also a number of corrections of lesser extent in other speeches, notably in those of Gouverneur Morris, from which one might infer that Madison had revised his manuscript from the notes of some one—probably Morris—which have never been published. But Morris, in a letter to Timothy Pickering of December 22, 1814 (Sparks, *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, III. 322) states positively that he kept no such notes. An examination of Madison's manuscript, however, shows that these changes were made at the time when the manuscript was written, and as they are not of such a character that Madison would have made them of his own accord, it is probable that Morris knew of the notes Madison was keeping, and suggested the changes at that time. In the letter cited, Morris evidently had Madison in mind when he wrote: "Some gentlemen, I was told, passed their evenings in transcribing speeches from shorthand minutes of the day."

[59] *Documentary History of the Constitution*, V. 310–312. *Cf.* Madison to J. G. Jackson, December 27, 1821. *Ibid.*, 312–315. The note at the end of the Debates, formally signed by Madison, "The few alterations and corrections made in these debates which are not in my hand writing, were dictated by me and made in my presence by John C. Payne" (*Doc. Hist.*, III. 771) undoubtedly refers to this revision. Hunt, *Writings of Madison*, IV. 456, states that a slight correction on September 14 is the only one in Payne's handwriting, but the present writer is unwilling to accept this, although as yet unable to make any other positive determination for himself. The editor of the *Documentary History* confesses his inability to distinguish between the two handwritings. *Doc. Hist.*, III. 771, marginal note.

[60] In the keeping of the Department of State, Bureau of Rolls and Library.

date has faded quite differently from that of the original notes, so that most of the later revisions stand out from the page almost as clearly as if they had been written in red ink.[61] The accompanying photograph of a page of the manuscript, including the records at the close of July 26 and the beginning of August 6, shows this difference in ink and writing, but by no means so distinctly as in the original. This cumulative evidence, therefore, would seem to place the matter beyond the controversial stage, and all statements that have been made above are based upon this double authority.[62]

King

In view of the fact that the *Journal* is so imperfect and not altogether reliable, and that Madison made so many changes in his manuscript, all other records of the Convention take on a new importance. Formerly they have been regarded only in so far as they might supplement our information; now it is seen that they may be of service also in determining what the action really was in doubtful cases.

Without question, the next most important notes to those which have been considered are the notes of Rufus King. They were published as an appendix to volume I. of the *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*,[63] and have not received the attention they deserve.

[61] This is not always the case, for the original manuscript has faded differently in different parts, perhaps because of different exposure or the use of more than one kind of ink. There also seem to have been at least two distinct sets of later corrections, probably made at different times. It is, therefore, sometimes difficult and sometimes impossible to determine whether or not the correction is a later one. A reference to the "printed Journal" must of course be of a later date than 1819, and the ink and writing of these words will frequently make clear all of the corrections of that date. It is also very helpful to know that it was Madison's almost invariable practice in his original notes to refer to himself as "M" or "Mr. M". In the revision of his manuscript he filled out his own name, so that the ink and writing of "adison" often furnish the necessary clue.

In the publishing of Madison's notes in volume III. of the *Documentary History of the Constitution*, the attempt was made to show all corrections of the manuscript by the use of small type, but this includes every correction whether made at the time of first writing or later. It is also misleading in that small type is used where Madison was forced to write in a cramped hand at the end of a line or the bottom of a page, and many places are overlooked where there happened to be sufficient space in the manuscript to enable Madison to make the correction in his natural handwriting. To one who cannot make use of the original manuscript this distinction of type in the *Documentary History* proves extremely helpful, but it must be remembered that it is neither exhaustive nor perfectly reliable.

[62] It perhaps should be noted as a matter of record that Madison also had copies of Pierce's notes which appeared in the *Savannah Georgian* in 1828. *Calendar of the Correspondence of James Madison*, p. 113.

[63] New York, Putnams, 6 vols., 1894–1900.

of the Seat [illegible]

Mr. Langdon opposed the idea also: but regretted the case of a State removing any obstacle [illegible] to the next Seat after the erection of the public buildings.

Mr. Gorham. The procrastination may be avoided by the Legislature by speedily erecting the public buildings.

Mr. Gerry conceived it to be the great source of Concession, that neither the Seat of a Nat. Govt. nor any Legislative Establishment [illegible] should be the Seat of the Natl. Govt.

Mr. Wilson likewise thought, but knowing how much the happiness of men were affected by this matter, were apprehensive of [illegible] than of the System. He apprehended also that no concession might be practised on by any limited by the Convention.

Mr. Pinckney thought the Seat of a Nat. Govt. ought to be avoided, and that a large town not containing within itself the Seat of the Natl. Govt.

Col. Mason did not incline to push the matter at this time, nor to expect any hasty passing of the System. He was content to withdraw the motion for the present.

Mr. Butler [illegible] by Mr. Constable for fixing the place, & a central one, for the Seat of Natl. Govt. proceedings since yesterday, last were referred [illegible] to the [illegible] Committee of detail.

The House adjourned till Monday next.

Monday August 6. In Convention

Mr. John Francis Mercer from Maryland took his seat.

Mr. Rutledge from the Committee of detail reported the Constitution as agreed to by them, which was delivered in at the Secretary's table, and read, and ordered to be printed for the use of the members.

"We the people of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New Jersey,

because the form in which they are presented is so confusing. For example, in the midst of the records of June 1 is inserted a speech of Dickinson which was really delivered on the following day; and under date of June 4 are notes of the proceedings of four different days. The editor, Doctor Charles R. King, grandson of Rufus King, states in a brief introductory paragraph that the notes thus printed are a copy made by Rufus King "somewhere about 1818–21 (for the paper bears the watermark of 1818) from rough notes taken at the time".

An examination of these original notes[64] shows that they are memoranda taken at the time in the Convention on odds and ends of paper. Each sheet or scrap of paper is dated and most of them are endorsed with date and substance of the contents, so that in only one or two cases can there be any doubt as to the place and order of the notes. It is altogether probable that Rufus King was induced by the printing of the *Journal* and Yates, *Secret Proceedings*, to prepare his notes for publication. At any rate, many years after the Convention was over, he attempted to put his notes into better form. In doing this work, although in most cases he did not venture to change the substance of his earlier records, he did drop out the dates in a number of instances; he sometimes omitted important items or notes, either unintentionally, or because he could not understand them; and in a few cases, at least one or two of which are important, he modified his original notes. It was this revised copy that was printed. The editor, C. R. King, attempted to insert some of the omitted items, but as he evidently was not familiar with the other records of the Convention his well-meant efforts only added to the confusion. There is not in King's original notes much material additional to that previously printed,[65] but it is important that they are in a form which permits them to be used readily; and they prove to be of considerable value.

McHenry

Within the last few years there have been printed in the American Historical Review notes and memoranda of proceedings in the Convention recently found among the papers of some of the members. Quite the best of these are the notes of James McHenry

[64] The King MSS. are deposited in the library of the New York Historical Society, and the privilege of using them freely was extended to the writer through the courtesy of Mr. Edward King of New York, and the kindness of the librarian, Mr. R. H. Kelby.

[65] Among the manuscripts is a paper in Gerry's own writing giving his well-known reasons for refusing to sign the Constitution.

of Maryland.[66] McHenry started out with the evident intention of taking somewhat extensive notes, and he adds not a little to our information of Randolph's speech in presenting the Virginia Resolutions on May 29. On account of his brother's illness, he left Philadelphia on June 1, and remained away during June and July, but in August he returned to the Convention and to his note-taking with all the enthusiasm of the beginner. The records became more and more brief as time passed, but they are valuable because they are, for the latter part of the Convention's work, the only materials we have beside the *Journal* and Madison's notes. In addition, McHenry has given us our first definite and reliable information of a caucus of the Maryland delegates, the existence of which was only suspected before.

Pierce

The notes of Wm. Pierce of Georgia which were printed in the *Savannah Georgian* in 1828,[67] were made accessible by being reprinted in the Review[68] and add somewhat to our information of the proceedings of the first few days of the sessions. The character sketches of his fellow-members in Convention, which accompany these notes, are not only interesting but are also helpful in portraying the delegates as they appeared to a contemporary.

Paterson

The notes of William Paterson of New Jersey[69] were evidently taken solely for his own use. While they are of little help in studying the general proceedings of the Convention, they are of great assistance in following Paterson's own line of reasoning, and in particular in studying the development of the resolutions Paterson presented on June 15, commonly called the New Jersey Plan. This is here given in its various stages of construction.

Hamilton

Alexander Hamilton's notes, also printed in the Review,[70] were found among the Hamilton Papers in the Library of Congress. They are little more than brief memoranda and, like those of Paterson, are of importance not so much in determining what others

[66] American Historical Review, April, 1906, XI. 595–624.

[67] See p. 51, above.

[68] American Historical Review, January, 1898, III. 310–334.

[69] American Historical Review, January, 1904, IX. 310–340.

[70] Edited by Worthington C. Ford and first printed in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for June, 1904. Carefully revised for reprinting in the American Historical Review for October, 1904, X. 97–109.

thought or said as in tracing the development of the writer's own reasoning.

Pinckney

Not a little interest was aroused when in the same journal there was published an outline of the genuine Pinckney Plan[71] and an extract from the same.[72] These were found among the Wilson manuscripts in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. As Charles Pinckney had been pretty thoroughly discredited by the spurious plan he had sent to John Quincy Adams in 1818, it was somewhat of a surprise to discover that, although he was not to be credited with any of the larger features of the Constitution, his plan had not been smothered in committee as had commonly been supposed, but was evidently used by the Committee of Detail in preparing their draft of the Constitution submitted to the Convention on August 6. It is evident that he is to be given the credit for a considerable number of details in the Constitution as completed.

Mason

A few notes and memoranda relating to the Federal Convention were found among the papers of George Mason, and were printed in 1892 by Miss K. M. Rowland in her *Life, Correspondence and Speeches of George Mason*.[73] They are not of much importance, except in so far as they throw a little further light upon Mason's position in the Convention.

Committee of Detail

Before the publication of Miss Rowland's *Life of Mason*, there had been found among the Mason papers a draft of a constitution in the handwriting of Edmund Randolph, with modifications and corrections in John Rutledge's hand. M. D. Conway, in *Scribner's Magazine* for September, 1887,[74] somewhat hastily described this document as a plan prepared by Randolph before the Convention assembled. W. M. Meigs, in his *Growth of the Constitution*, wherein he prints in facsimile a copy of this draft, shows conclusively that this could not have been original with Randolph, but must have been a draft of the Committee of Detail.[75] In fact it is probably the first draft of that committee's work.

[71] *Ibid.*, July, 1904, IX. 735–747.

[72] *Ibid.*, April, 1903, VIII. 509–511. Jameson, *Studies*, pp. 130–131. The identification of the extract by Professor Jameson (see his *Studies*, pp. 128–132), without seeing the manuscripts themselves, is an interesting and suggestive piece of historical criticism.

[73] II. 112–115, 118, 178, 382–387.

[74] Also in *Omitted Chapters of History* (1888), ch. 9.

[75] (Philadelphia, 1899), pp. 317–324.

Among the Wilson manuscripts are found two other drafts of this committee, one of which bears similar corrections in the handwriting of Rutledge, who was the chairman of the committee. The close relationship of these three drafts is shown by Professor Jameson,[76] and while the study of them is tedious, the labor is well repaid, for it is possible to trace clearly the process of construction of the Constitution at this all-important stage of its development. Not the least interesting result of such a study is the fact that of all the state instruments of government the constitution of New York exercised the greatest influence, several of its provisions being incorporated directly into the Federal document. It is also noteworthy that both the New Jersey and Pinckney Plans were of considerable service to the committee in its work.[77]

Printed Drafts

Printed copies of the drafts of August 6 and September 12 were made for the members' use, and the delegates were allowed to make their own copies of the Virginia and New Jersey Plans. Copies of all of these, belonging to various members, are extant, and most of them have marginal notes and emendations in the nature of amendments or recording the action taken upon particular sections or clauses.[78] They are interesting, but add practically nothing to our knowledge of the proceedings in Convention, and are probably not worth reprinting.

Supplementary Information

Professor Jameson has prepared a list of the letters written by the members of the Federal Convention while that body was in session, and he has printed such of them as had not previously been made public.[79] Owing to the obligation of secrecy imposed upon them, the writers do not reveal much of importance as to what was taking place, and consequently they add but little to our knowledge of the Convention's work. Taken, however, in connection with the first class of material referred to in this article,[80] they suggest other sources of information, namely, the statements as to its proceedings made by members of the Convention after the sessions were over. Such statements have already been cited as giving us our first information of the internal working of the Convention, but on following

[76] *Studies*, pp. 125–132.
[77] *Cf.* Jameson, *Studies*, pp. 128–132.
[78] See P. L. Ford, *Bibliography of the Constitution*, no. 8.
[79] *Studies*, pp. 90–103.
[80] Pages 2–3 above.

out the line of investigation now suggested, this material proves to be surprisingly extensive. Part of it is to be found in the correspondence of the delegates, but the most fruitful line of inquiry lies in tracing the subsequent public careers of these men. Baldwin, Johnson, Gouverneur Morris, the Pinckneys, and many others of note under the new government, in their public utterances, especially upon constitutional questions, support their contentions by reference to the action or the intention of the Convention. Even Madison and Washington were led in this way to break their customary reserve. Of course, the farther away from the Convention one gets, the less reliable these reports become, owing to the deforming influence of memory. But taken as a whole this mass of supplementary material throws not a little light upon the work of the Convention and in particular upon the parts taken by individual members, and upon opinions and personalities. And whatever can help us to understand the most important convention in our nation's history is to be welcomed.

It is possible, indeed probable, that other records of the Convention will be brought to light. Charles Pinckney stated explicitly that he had taken careful notes of the proceedings;[81] William Jackson, secretary of the Convention, kept minutes of the debates;[82] in a communication to the Massachusetts convention, Elbridge Gerry "subjoined a state of facts, founded on documents";[83] Gouverneur Morris referred to "some gentlemen" writing up their notes between sessions;[84] and James Wilson in the Pennsylvania convention on December 4, 1787, stated that within a week he had "spoken with a gentleman, who has not only his memory, but full notes that he had taken in that body".[85] Whatever may be the accuracy or the value of these various statements, at least they indicate that there once existed material of which we have no present knowledge, but which may at any time be found. It is not probable, however, that any such new material would modify to any great extent our conceptions of the Convention's work, and it has, therefore, seemed worth while to embody in the present article the existing state of our information regarding the records of the Federal Convention.

MAX FARRAND.

[81] See above, p. 52, note 40. Hunt, *Writings of Madison*, III. 25, note (with correction in IV., p. vii), states that none of the notes are extant. *Cf.* Jameson, *Studies*, p. 131, note *a*.

[82] See above, p. 48, note 21.

[83] *Massachusetts Debates* (ed. of 1856), pp. 67–68.

[84] See above, note 58.

[85] Elliot, *Debates*, II. 453.

DOCUMENT

Directorium ad Faciendum Passagium Transmarinum,[1] II.

THE *Directorium* opens with a statement of authorship and date, and with a dedication—it is put forth, we are told, by a certain Friar Preacher who has written from his own experience rather than from hearsay; it was completed in the year 1330;[2] and it is addressed to Philip, king of the French, in other words to Philip VI. of Valois (1328–1350).

The author then proceeds to congratulate Philip on his reported intention to take up the Holy War once more: for his assistance, in lieu of military aid, which a poor friar could not furnish, he offers him this *Directory*, the fruit of more than twenty-four years of residence and of missionary labor in infidel lands. The work in question (according to the *two swords* whose sufficiency the Lord Himself attested, and according to the number of the Apostles) he has divided, he tells us, into two books and further subdivided into twelve parts. The first book, we may notice, occupies nearly four-fifths of the entire treatise and comprises eight of the twelve parts.

Part I. discusses the *motives* for "making the passage", for undertaking this revival of Crusade. We begin with the personal incentive of the example of earlier French kings, Philip's ancestors, so eminently associated with the suppression of heresy, the liberation of the Roman Church, the extermination of the Saracenic pest—as in Aquitaine, Provence, Spain, and Palestine. Next follows the desire of enlarging the bounds of Christendom, a desire which every Catholic prince must naturally feel. Under this the writer, much in

[1] The installment of this document presented in the July number of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XII. 813–857, was preceded by a preface dealing with textual questions. Historical comment was deferred to the present number, and is presented briefly in the following pages. Here I must acknowledge the great kindness of Mr. R. J. Whitwell, who has unsparingly given his time and skill to examining with me many of the difficult readings of M (the Magdalen College MS.), and to whose sound palaeography I am much indebted. The text of this document, and the critical notes on the same, have already made such inroads on the space of this REVIEW, that the present article must be compressed into the narrowest possible limits.

[2] Here the Magdalen Coll. MS. (M) reads *1332*; see the July no. (1907) of this journal, p. 813.

the style of Marino Sanuto's *Secreta*,[3] draws a vigorous picture of the shrinkage of Christian frontiers, since early times, through the growth of heresy, and the inroads of that foul swine, filthy dog, and minister of the devil, "Machomet". Only the Roman Church now remained faithful, and it was confined within a little fraction of the inhabited earth, driven by its foes, as it were, to the world's ends. Africa no longer contained any Christians; and although plenty of such might still be found in Asia, none were orthodox. Even in Europe, "our own part of the world", many pagans[4] still remained, bordering on Germans and Poles; Saracens[5] yet held out in one part of Spain; and in various regions were Christians not of the Roman faith. Such were the Russians,[6] whose land, near to Bohemia and bordering on Poland, had an extent of more than forty days' journey; the Bulgarians, whose realm stretched for more than twenty days' march; and the numerous races of Sclavonia, inhabiting *Rassia*,[7] Servia, Crovacia (the region of Cracow), and other kingdoms bordering on the Hungarians, Greeks, Dalmatians, Albanians, and Blaqui or Wallachians.

In other ways also it could be shown that Catholic Christendom was now reduced to a very small share of the world. For Asia was much greater than commonly supposed;[8] men of the writer's day had found inhabited regions in the far north "beyond the latitude of the last Climate"; in other words, beyond the fiftieth parallel. In another direction the writer himself could support the same position. For when travelling as a missionary he not only reached the equatorial region, but once passed far beyond, into a southern latitude where he no longer saw the Arctic pole, but beheld the Antarctic at an elevation of 24°;[9] certain merchants even claimed to have

[3] On Sanuto's *Secreta*, which furnishes many striking parallels to the *Directorium*, I beg to refer to my *Dawn of Modern Geography*, vol. III., pp. 309–319, and especially, on the subject here touched, p. 317; AMER. HIST. REV., July, 1907, XII. 810.

[4] As to these one need only refer to the heathen Prussians, the conquest of whose land by the crusading Order of Teutonic Knights occupied much of the thirteenth century, 1226–1283, and who still in 1330 comprised some pagan tribes; and the Lithuanians, whose official conversion dates only from the dynastic union of 1386 with Poland.

[5] These, of course, are the Granada Moslems, not conquered till 1492.

[6] *Ruteni* of M.

[7] This *Rassia* (or *Racia*) is the Servian Empire of the fourteenth century, occupying nearly all the northwest of the Balkan peninsula.

[8] Lit. "than appeared in the ordinary description of the Climates".

[9] On Catholic knowledge of equatorial regions and glimpses of lands and seas still further south, in the later Middle Ages, especially in the later thirteenth and earlier fourteenth centuries, see *Dawn of Modern Geography*, III. 28–29, 133–136, 145–150, 264–267, 300–301, 416–417, 439–440, 523–524.

penetrated to a point where they found an elevation of 54° for this Antarctic pole.

From all this it clearly followed that not only Asia, but the inhabited world in general, was greater than had been usually laid down; that the assumption of Antipodes was neither false nor frivolous; and that true or Catholic Christendom, squeezed into a tiny angle of the earth, did not include one-twentieth of the same. None the less this Catholic Christendom, small as was its area, if compared to other regions in strength; in the use of arms and warlike probity; in virtue, religion, manners, morals, and the proper use of wealth; or in justice and good government—was as gold among the metals.

The third *motive* for the "passage" or crusade was a due compassion for the ruin of so many Christian peoples. For besides the avowed schismatics of the East, dragged down to hell at the tail of the Greek sect, there were various Christian peoples to south, north, and east, who—though frequently as darkened in their heresy as the Greeks, and though often following the errors of other sects—yet declared themselves to be Orthodox, and deserved the attention of true Crusaders. Such were the Goths,[10] of the same race as the famous devastators of the West; the Ziqui,[11] to the far Northeast, from whom sprang the Scythians; the Avogasi, source of the Vandals; the tribes from which the Huns descended; the Georgians or Iberians; and the Alans[12]—races whose territories had an extent of eighty days of march. In the Orient, moreover, were many Christians who lived under the dominion of the Emperor of Persia (the Mongol Ilkhan) such as those of the Empire of Trebizond "anciently Cappadocia"; the men of Greater Armenia, that "diffuse" country on whose mountains once rested the ark of Noah; and the Jacobite and Nestorian heretics.

Further south, again, was a fairly large island[13] in the Indian Sea, which the writer himself had visited, whose people practised both baptism and circumcision, and of whose manners, customs, laws, and ridiculous method of government, much of interest might

[10] On the Goths of the Crimea, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, II. 324, 390; III. 170, 241, 564.

[11] On the Ziqui or Zicci, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, II. 303.

[12] On the Alans in the same period (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, III. 183–185, 291, 294–295, 307; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, II. 84–90.

[13] That it was probably Socotra has already been suggested; see AMER. HIST. REV., July, 1907, p. 811; *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, I. 193, 207, 222, 400, 423, 463; II. 259; III. 17, 145–147, 211.

be said, if the matter were not foreign to the present argument. Nor was this all. Still further south were Ethiopian Christians, a great and powerful nation, one of whose kingdoms, called Nubia,[14] bordering on Egypt, had sometimes defeated the Egyptian sultan, and who cherished a proud hope based on "prophecy", that one day they would destroy Egyptians and Arabians together, sack Mecca, and burn the body of "Machomet".

The fourth *motive*, the natural Christian desire of recovering the land hallowed by the life and death of Christ is discussed with great eloquence, but contains nothing of historical interest, and with this ends the first part.

Part II. is occupied with five *preambles* which must be observed before the passage is undertaken. And here, beginning with prayer and amendment of life, the author incidentally remarks with perfect accuracy upon the original conquest of Jerusalem in 639 by the Caliph Omar, the Saracen occupation of the Holy City till the crusading victory of 1099, the Christian possession of the same for the next eighty-eight years, and the final loss of Zion to the Moslems in 1187. Of this final loss, it is clear to the writer, Christian wickedness had been the all-important cause. In language like that of James de Vitry, or Burchard of Mount Sion,[15] he depicts the avarice, pomp, vanity, and indolence of the Latin prelates of the East; the abounding iniquity of their clergy and people; the irreverence, indiscipline, and disobedience of monks and friars; the abandoned life of women; the injustice of rulers and judges. Again, the *Directory* does not forget to insist upon the essential *preamble* of military order and discipline, quoting examples, not only from Scripture, but also from Vegetius and Valerius Maximus in reference to ancient Roman military policy.

The third *preamble* is peace and concord among the Crusaders themselves—a topic especially suggested by the war then raging between the foremost of Christian maritime powers, Catalans and Genoese, who for probity, valor, energy, industry, experience, loyalty, steadfastness, and the power of furnishing and maintaining naval force, were without peers. An urgent appeal is addressed to the king of France to stop this suicidal struggle through his influence on the kings of Aragon and Sicily.

For the provisioning of the expedition with grain, wine, oil, meal, vegetables, cheese, and salt meats of all kinds, Apulia and Sicily are

[14] On the Nubians of the Middle Ages, and their Christianity, see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, I. 242; II. 260, 263; III. 152, 174–175, 314–315, 317, 498.

[15] See *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, II. 213; III. 388.

specially recommended; yet here again a war had to be ended. King Robert and King Frederic must lay aside their enmities at the appeal of Philip; both of them, it might be hoped, would ultimately follow the French king on his crusade, and would devote to the service of God's army their admirable ports, especially those of Sicily, and their rich supply of ship timber. From his own personal experience the writer was assured of King Frederic's devotion to the cause and of his high merits as a crusading leader.

The fourth *preamble* (like the fifth) is concerned with the discussion of ways and means. Before the main army had actually started, everything should be made ready for the maritime transport of all those crusaders who could bear a sea voyage, as well as of victuals, arms, and engines of war such as *balistae* and instruments for bombarding or undermining the walls of camps, cities, and forts. To guard these transports, to clear the sea from pirates, and to cooperate with the land force a powerful navy was indispensable; and as the route of the land-army must lie through the empire of Romania (of Constantinople), and as Venice and Genoa held important possessions in that empire, it was obvious that Venetians and Genoese must furnish the war-ships necessary. How powerfully they could aid in the expedition was clear from the fact that Crete, Negropont, and nearly all the islands of the Aegaean belonged to Venice; and that Genoa from her town of *Capha*[16] in "Northern Tartary", could supply so many things needful for the passage, while in the fortress-city of Pera,[17] immediately adjoining Constantinople, she held a position of unique importance. Nor was this all. Venetians and Genoese were well acquainted with the seas, ports, islands, rocks, roads, passes, and provinces of the Byzantine Empire; and many of them even knew many of the local languages, having been born and brought up in those parts.

Coming to more specific details, the writer considers that by the spring following a navy of twelve galleys should be ready to police the seas of the Levant, and especially to cut off all naval aid from the Sultan of Egypt, who was absolutely dependent upon incoming trade for his supply of arms and iron, as well as of timber for shipbuilding, fortifying or constructing military engines. Like Marino

[16] On Capha, Caffa, or Kaffa, the classical and modern Theodosia ("Feodosia") on the southeast coast of the Crimea, the chief Black Sea base of Genoese trade and the greatest Catholic outpost and colony *in partibus infidelium* during the fourteenth and earlier fifteenth centuries, see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, II. 453–454; III. 237, 239, 249, 250, 291–292, 330, 341, 347, 371–372, 467, 477–478, 486, 536.

[17] On the Genoese in Pera and Galata, see Heyd, *Commerce du Levant*, I. 432, 436–437, 445–446, 450, 454–461, 498, 502–508; II. 99; *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, III. 337, 475.

Sanuto's *Secreta*, the *Directory* would absolutely interdict all maritime trade between Latin Christendom and Moslem countries. Both works agree in considering that Egypt, from its lack of the necessaries aforesaid, would fall an easy victim to this commercial interdict.

Thus ends the second part. The third begins with the consideration of the routes to be followed by the Crusaders.

And first of all that recommended by Raymond Lull[18] along the north coast of Africa is discussed and rejected. For one thing, its length and weariness were insupportable. From Gibraltar Strait to Acre was a distance of 3,500 miles; even from Tunis to Acre it was 2,300 miles. Once more, it was a road full of danger, with difficult passes, a long stretch of absolute desert, and inaccessible or impregnable positions, forts or cities. Finally, at the conclusion of the march the Latin army, weakened by these terrible and endless labors, could only reach the Holy Land by the complete overthrow of the Soldan of Egypt himself, most formidable of Moslem powers. The only reason for St. Louis, on his last crusade, beginning his attack upon the infidel with the siege of Tunis was in all probability the nearness of Sicily, that invaluable base of operations.

The second route, by sea, starting from Aigues Mortes, Marseilles or Nice, and calling at Cyprus, is also condemned as unsuitable for all unaccustomed to maritime life. The miseries of life on shipboard, for men and horses alike, are vividly described in the style of the eighteenth-century sage (" in prison, with the additional chance of being drowned "); the dangers of contrary winds, of being becalmed far from land, of bad food and water, of storm and shipwreck, of violent change of climate, of an unhealthy or dangerous place of disembarcation, are dwelt upon with all the force of personal (and unhappy) experience.

Finally, the absence of any good harbor under Catholic control on the Syrian coast is insisted upon: if St. Louis suffered so much upon this passage while Acre was still in Christian hands, how much worse would be the plight of those who now adventured such an enterprise.

Thus having dismissed two of the chief possible lines of attack the *Directory* goes on to consider and approve various routes through Italy, Germany, and Hungary for the main body of the land forces. The Italian roads suggested are three. The first passed through Aquileia, rounding the head of the Adriatic, running down through Istria and Dalmatia, and so arriving at Thessalonica, a point at

[18] See *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, III. 412, 496, 512–513, and especially 310–311.

which all the crusading armies were to unite; the second led down to Brindisi, whence one must pass over 150 miles of sea to Durazzo, Albania, Blaquia or Wallachia, and so to Thessalonica; the third brought one to Otranto, Corfu, the Lordship of Arca, and thus through Blaquia to Thessalonica likewise.

All these ways traversed rich country. The first, in its passage of Istria and Dalmatia, lay within lands of true Catholic Christians, in great part governed from Venice. True, after Dalmatia one must pass through regions not obedient to Rome; but as their inhabitants were but women in strength and courage it would be as easy as it was just to cut a path through these with fire and sword. The Durazzo and Otranto passages, again, were made easier by the dominion of the Prince of Taranto in *Duracium* and in Corfu, as well as by the Catholicism of the Albanians.

But (and here we pass into Part IV.) it is the German and Hungarian road which is ultimately selected as the best for the French king himself, and perhaps for most of his followers. By this Charles the Great had gone to liberate the Holy Land from the infidel;[19] on this, until it quitted Hungary, the crusading host would be among friends, "as at home"; after Hungary, part of the army, with the French king in person, should march through Bulgaria; the rest of his own force must proceed through Sclavonia;[20] both divisions uniting, with all the other wings of the army, before Thessalonica.

At the same time, while choosing this line for his sovereign and apparently for the main "battle", our Dominican allows, and even urges, the use of other tracks above indicated, by sections of the expedition. None, indeed, should go by Africa, unless the entire venture were devoted to African conquest, which might be achieved by so great a force, but could not be attempted by less. The maritime peoples could make their passage by sea. By Italy might advance the Lombards, the people of the Marches and of Apulia, and others bordering upon this route. The ways by Brindisi and Otranto are specially recommended, not only for Tuscans, Romans, and Italians of the South, but also for Provençals. All, whatever their line of progression, were to unite at Thessalonica; and those who had to cross the Adriatic straits must be sure that their transport was ready, adequate, and swift.

In his next part (V.) the author discusses whether any treaty

[19] Behind this myth lies the truth of Charlemagne's pilgrim-hospice in Jerusalem, and diplomatic intercourse with the Eastern Caliphate, for the protection of Christian travellers to Syria; see *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, I. 172.

[20] *I. e.*, through the Serb empire of *Rassia* or *Racia*.

could be made with, or any trust reposed in, the Emperor of the Greeks, or the Sclavonian King of *Rassia*; and whether the crusaders might justly invade and conquer the dominions of these princes. Here again he is perfectly definite. The Greeks were full of malignant hatred for true Roman Christianity; when they took wives from Catholic races they compelled them to renounce their Latin creed; Greek churches which had been used for Latin worship were purified as if under pollution; Greek confessors treated theft or robbery from Latins as a matter free from blame. Out of the evil treasure of the Greek heart, again, came the deadly poison of all the heresies which had afflicted the Church; at its tail Greek error dragged down the Christian nations of the East into a pit of blindness and perdition.

With such heretics the French kings, ancient pillars of Roman orthodoxy, could not make pact or truce; a treaty of this kind would befool all the Catholic missionaries and diplomatists who had labored in the Levant; would condone the usurpations of the Palaeologi, usurpations which had especially affected the rights of the royal house of France; and would ignore the treachery of a people, which in old days had mixed live coals with the bread of their Latin guests, and scuttled their ships in the very harbor of Constantinople.

In the course of this philippic, the *Directory* gives us not only a list of heresies (Arian, Nestorian, etc.) due to the perversity of Greek intellect, but also glances bitterly at the life and "treasons" of Michael Palaeologus, at the expulsion of Latin dominion from Constantinople, at the massacre of Latins in the Imperial City on this occasion (still attested by the mound of bones in a crypt near *Bucca Leonis*), at Michael's pretence of submission to the Roman See, at his intrigues against Charles of Sicily, and at his successor's blasphemous reversion to the schism of the Greeks. As to the rulers of *Rassia*, their character is sufficiently proved by a chronicle of their recent actions—their conspiracies, usurpations, blindings, murders, the deeds of wretches so monstrous that in this family a father might be found to kill his guiltless son with his own hands.

Could there be any doubt that the army of God might justly invade and conquer both the Byzantine Empire and *Rassia*, and thus repeat the glorious deeds (here dealt with at some length) of those who, on the Fourth Crusade, had once already planted a Latin Empire in Constantinople?

In his Sixth Part our Dominican attempts to show how easily this conquest of the Greek Empire and of *Rassia* might be effected. For one thing, the cowardice of the Greeks equalled their deceit,

trickery, and delight in successful fraud. The author had himself witnessed a disgraceful overthrow of the late emperor outside Constantinople by a handful of Turks; he tells us also of a yet more ignominious defeat inflicted on the same sovereign near Adrianople by the Catalan *Society*,[21] now established in the Duchy of Athens.

Thus the pusillanimous Greek, whose only resource was flight, was encircled and oppressed by a ring of foes, the Tartar, the Turk, the Slav, the Bulgar, and many another; thus the empire of the Palaeologi had fallen into a desolation, depopulation, and enslavement, truly lamentable. The author himself, when in Persia, saw multitudes of Greek slaves, of either sex, and of every age and rank, sold like cattle in the public markets; families and lovers ruthlessly parted; all alike compelled to embrace the faith of their purchaser, be he Moslem, idolater, or Jew. Within the Persian Empire (the Mongol Ilkhanate) there were now, it was said, more than 400,000 of these wretched captives of the Eastern Church. Who could number the Greek slaves that had been sold in other empires of the Tartars or in Egypt; who could reckon the multitudes of Greeks destroyed by hunger, fire, and sword? Never had the writer visited a foreign land where he had not seen Greek slaves.

The conquest of the Greek Empire was rendered still more easy by the effeminacy, licentiousness, folly, ignorance, and timidity of its head, a vain fool, useless in war, faithless even for a Greek, the obedient tributary of Tartars, Turks, and Catalans; who yet, worthless as he was, appointed, removed, and punished the priests of his Church, even the highest, as he would. Our friar had seen four deposed patriarchs living at one time in ignominy and seclusion; such was the "Universal Bishop" of the Greeks, their vaunted "successor of Peter", their "Vicar of Christ".

In the Seventh Part, continuing his discussion of the same subject (how the Greek empire might be conquered) the *Directorium* plans out in full detail a scheme of siege operations against Constantinople. And first the city is carefully and well described. Its shape was triangular; each side of the triangle six miles long; one side only facing the land, the others bordering the sea. It was entirely encircled with walls, not very high or formidable, but quite uninjured, and in one part double. The population was small for so great a compass of walled town; scarce one-third of the city-space was inhabited; the rest was all gardens, vineyards, fields, or waste. The people were utterly unwarlike, mostly consisting of merchants,

[21] On this Catalan Grand Company, see Finlay, *History of Greece*, edition of 1877, III. 388–408; IV. 129, 147–156, 274, 300; VI. 160.

mariners, artificers, fisher folk, and husbandmen; the nobles, few in number, were weak as women, timid as Jews. The attack upon the city should be both by sea and land; the latter should be mainly directed upon the neighborhood of the Golden Gate. Here the assailants, being near the sea, could easily be aided by their naval forces; the walls and trenches were not formidable; and with rams, ladders, fire, and cages for hoisting the storming parties upon the walls, success was almost certain at this point. For the naval onslaught (rendered so much more practicable by the deep sea, without rocks or shoals, which came right up to the walls) great vessels should be prepared, with lofty castles, fitted with a complete apparatus of military engines. Especially to be recommended for this work was a kind of "edifice" by which 500 men (or more) could be discharged upon the walls at one time, and which the writer had seen when he accompanied Martino Zaccaria[22] of Genoa in his wars against the Turks. This naval hero, now by treachery become a prisoner of the Greek emperor, had done more than any living man in fighting Turks at sea: several of his victories had been won in the author's presence.

The *Directory* concludes these counsels in the art of war with the suggestion of covered vessels called *barbotae*, and of siege-machines called *uxeria*. In the former, crew and warriors, invisible under their penthouse lids, could securely run up under the face of the enemy, rake the foe with their missiles, and undermine the defences at their foundation. In the latter, iron-shod beams with sharp points could be swung on ropes for smashing gates and ramparts; fireballs and sacks filled with stones could be shot into the air to fall with burning or crushing effect upon the defenders and their houses.

With such preparations, plans, and instruments, the besieging host might hope to storm Constantinople in one day; the Imperial City once taken, the two remaining strongholds of the Greeks, Thessalonica and Adrianople, were as good as won. The author concludes this part of his work with a well thought-out summary of the obvious advantages which the possession of the Byzantine realm would confer upon the crusaders. Needless to say, he takes no account of the racial antipathy which would so heavily subtract from the strategic side of the account.

Part VIII., concluding the First Book, outlines the policy to be

[22] On this famous partizan leader (the nephew, as the *Directory* adds, of Lord Benedict *Zacharia* "whose fame in naval deeds still lives"), see Finlay, *Greece* (1877), III. 429; *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, III. 222, 233.

pursued in the conquered lands of the Greek Empire, and deals, in a sort of appendix, with the ways and means of subjugating *Rassia*, and with the ease and advantages of such a conquest.

First of all, when Catholic rule had been restored in Byzantine lands, all Latins who had deserted their creed and race, unless they recanted, were to be punished with death or banishment.

Banishment was likewise to be the fate of the Greek monks, called *Calogeri*; whose influence, grounded on hypocrisy[23] and intrigue, must be crushed if the Latin dominion was ever to be made secure. In every family where two or more sons could be found, one was to be educated in "Latin letters". Heretical Greek books were to be diligently sought out and burnt, the Western Inquisition being set going against all kinds of heresy, living and dead. After the conquest, the clergy and people of Constantinople were to be gathered in St. Sophia to make a public profession of the Roman faith, and a public submission to Latin domination; the Frank Emperor meantime remitting certain taxes. Monks were no longer to have the monopoly of the episcopate and the confessional; and the Byzantine conventicles, private chapels, and oratories, nests of conspiracy and sedition,[24] were to be rigorously suppressed.

As to the conquest of *Rassia*, it was not a matter of any difficulty. The country possessed scarcely any strongholds, and no walled fortresses; on the other hand it contained settlements of men of Latin civilization bitterly hostile to Servian rule. A list of these settlements, comprising Antivari, Dulcigno, Scutari, and three others, is here appended; and it is pointed out that besides the Latin settlers of the shore-land the Albanians equally professed the Catholic religion, equally detested the unbearable slavery of the Slav dominion, and equally longed to wash their hands in the blood of these abominable masters. A Frank army of a thousand knights and five or six thousand foot-soldiers would easily subdue the whole of *Rassia*, thereby performing a deed more truly acceptable to God than the subjugation of an even greater Saracen territory. For the land was indeed delightful. It abounded in corn, wine, oil, flocks, and herds; it was diversified with pleasant springs and rivers, groves and meadows, hills and valleys, rich plains and great woodlands; finally its gold and silver mines were not to be forgotten—five of such were already worked.

[23] By eating certain seeds, our author declares, they "appeared unto men to fast", thereby gaining the necessary emaciation, etc.

[24] The *Directory's* account of these shows intimate knowledge and is among the most curious passages in the work.

Thus ends the First Book; the First Part of the Second Book (which is also the Ninth Part of the treatise as a whole) discusses various Eastern races with whom the crusaders and their royal leader must needs have much to do, but of whose trickeries they must beware. First came the Armenians, the worst and most faithless heretics of the Oriental world—save only for those of Little Armenia or Cilicia,[25] who had made a kind of union with the Roman Church. In this union the author had been a prime agent, being one of the two Dominicans whom Pope John XXII.[26] had specially designated for this work. It was, therefore, from intimate knowledge that our friar declares this union to be one of fear and necessity rather than love, and accuses the Armenian Uniats of defrauding the Latins in well-nigh every particular. Next in order were the *Gasinuli*,[27] the mixed offspring of Greek and Latin parents; the Syrian Christians; the *Murtati*, descendants of Greek alliances with Turks, the worse offspring of two bad bloods; and the *baptized Neophytes*, converts from Moslem races—among whom there was scarcely even a choice of evils. Deceit, cowardice, greed, turbulence, cruelty, drunkenness, gluttony, treachery—such were the qualities of these wretches, and especially of the mongrel races and sham proselytes here noticed.

The French king, however, must be ready (while ever on his guard against such ruffians) to win them to the service of the Holy War by all the bounty, kindness, and indulgence that might be needed. For as spies and scouts they were priceless; and in journeying through difficult country, in avoiding hostile snares, in securing and storing booty, and in winning the inmost secrets of the enemy, the wise leader would make use of them to the full.

On the other hand, in regard to the execrable people called *Assassins*[28] (of whom the writer had heard somewhat, though he had never seen any) there was no advice to be given save that of strict unvarying caution in admitting no one to the royal presence without full knowledge of his errand and antecedents.

[25] See Stubbs, "Mediaeval Kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia", in *Seventeen Lectures*, pp. 179–237; *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, II. 238, 456–457; III. 52, 313, 325, 330, 473, 483.

[26] 1316–1334, the most vigorous patron and organizer of Asiatic and African missions among the later medieval popes; this closer union of Lesser Armenia with Rome was in 1318; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, III. 181, 206–207, 211–213, 221, 239–240, 311–312, 497–498.

[27] These are the *Guasmul* of Marco Polo (in a slightly different sense); see the 1903 edition of Yule and Cordier, I. 289–292, and especially 292: the term (*Gasmul, Basmul*, etc.) occurs frequently in Byzantine historians, *e. g.*, George Pachymeres, Nicephorus Gregoras, and Nicetas Choniates.

[28] On the Assassins, see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, II. 239–240, 255, 589–590; III. 63, 256, 287; Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, I. 133–136.

Part X. (Book II., Part II.) is devoted to a further exposition of the military and other advantages resulting from the choice of this line of advance—by Constantinople and the Bosphorus[29]—and from the policy of attacking the Turks of Asia Minor, in the first place, rather than the Egyptian sultan. In particular, the suggestion of beginning the campaign against Islam by way of Little Armenia is examined and refuted: this country, the *Directorium* strangely declares, had no harbor except the poor and confined Portus Palorum;[30] its provisions were inadequate for a great army; its frontier passes were held by the Sultan of Egypt. The last-named potentate could not come to the aid of the Turks, for he would lay himself open to the onslaught of his mortal foe, the Tartar Emperor of Persia. In this connection the writer recalls Ghazan Khan's invasion of Syria[31] in the hope of being supported by Catholic armies from the West.

Part XI. (Book II., Part III.) describes the chief supply-centres of the East from which the crusading army must re-victual and refit. In Thrace, on the west or back of Asia Minor,[32] there was the grain emporium of Rodosto, the wine market of Gannos, and others. In Macedonia, likewise to the west of the *Asia* that was now *Turkey*, Thessalonica and three other places furnished abundant corn, barley, and vegetables. To the right or south of *Turquia* Negropont, the Duchy of Athens, and other regions yielded wine, oil, and cheese; while to the left or north, along the shore-lands of the Euxine or Pontic Sea and the Sea of Tana (Azov) were so many excellent and celebrated bases for provisioning in cereals, flesh, fish, honey, wax, and other necessaries that it was needless to enumerate them. No less bountiful were the resources of Asia Minor itself, a land so rich in all the goods of earth that one might fairly call it another Egypt or another Paradise.

Finally, in Part XII. (Book II., Part IV.) the author sets forth the reasons why there was every hope of a speedy and complete victory over the Turks. Their cup of wickedness was full; they were hopelessly divided among themselves; their strength had suffered

[29] Which the *Directorium* calls, indifferently, *Bosphorus*, *Hellespont*, and *Arm of St. George*; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, III. 395.

[30] Yet the much greater and more celebrated haven of Lajazzo was still flourishing; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, II. 456–457; III. 24, 45–49, 52, 192, 313, 325, 330, 468, 473, 483.

[31] A. D. 1299. The *Directory* wrongly makes *Casan* take Damascus.

[32] This land, remarks the *Directory*, though now called *Turquia*, was the ancient and Scriptural *Asia*, where the Seven Churches lay, called by the Greeks "Anatolia". It was tongue-shaped, having the sea on three sides, the Ægean to the right or south, the Pontic (Euxine) sea to the left or north, the Hellespont towards the back or west.

wonderful diminution; they now depended on slaves and hirelings (largely Christians in origin, ready to desert at the first opportunity) to fight their battles; their equipment for, and knowledge of, war seemed only fit for children's sport. True, they had many horses, but small and weak, and neither steeds nor riders carried defensive armor. Even the offensive weapons of the Turks were absurdly inadequate. Conscious of their weakness, they fought only by simulated flight, by ambushes, and such-like devices. Finally they lived in terror of the fulfilment of a prophecy that in the last days their seat would be destroyed by a lord of the Franks. The Moslem dread of a new crusade was widespread; when the author was in Persia, and the news came abroad that Pope Clement[33] had proclaimed the Holy War afresh, the panic of the populace was such that the Frankish sword might have been already at their throats. Our friar, who "had seen almost every nation of the East go out to war", knew for a certainty that the single power of France, without allies, could overwhelm Turks, Egyptians, Arabs, Persians, Tartars, and Indians.[34]

Thus ends a work in every way remarkable, whether we regard it as an outcome of the Catholic mission-movement which so largely contributed to the Asiatic expansion of Latin Christendom in the Mongol Age (1245–1370); or as an example of the militant spirit, which, after the failure of the Syrian Crusades, strove to revive crusading ardor; or as a scheme of policy whose ruthless and reckless intolerance contrast forcibly with the comparative caution and liberality of most of the leaders and writers of the great age of medieval overland intercourse.

C. Raymond Beazley.

[M. 14 r; P. 45] *Explicit quinta pars.* [1]*Sexta pars per quatuor facilitates ostendit ad imperium capiendum.*[1]

Si igitur, Domine mi Rex, propter praedicta vestrae circumspectionis [2]prouidentiae videatur[2] de vestro itinere sancto spetti[3] hostes tollendi tam antiquum malum delendum, tam inveterati proditores in

[33] *I. e.*, Clement V. (1305–1314); this reference is probably to 1308.

[34] The Indian missionary, Jordanus the Dominican, bishop of Kulam in Travancore, writing at this very time, expresses the same confidence; see *Dawn Mod. Geog.*, III. 234–235. There are many interesting points of contact between the *Directorium* and the *Mirabilia* and *Letters* of Jordanus.

[1] *Sextam ostendit per quatuor facilitates*, M., which omits *ad imperium capiendum*.

[2] *Prudencie videat*, M.

[3] *Spreti*, M.; P. has a mark of correction here, but nothing in the margin to answer to it.

se et in suis genitoribus penitus submouendi sicut est quilibet praedictorum, ut in praemissis aliqualiter est expressum, ad sextam partem hujus directorii me extendo; et erit quatuor causas ostendere per[4] quas videbitur facilitas tam praefati regni quam imperii capiendi.

Prima causa est quia gens Graecorum [5]perfidiam imitatur[5] postquam fidem et obedientiam Romanae Ecclesiae dereliquit, quatuor bona perdidit[6] quae fidem ab ipso mundi exordio comitantur. Primo enim perdidit Deum, qui per fidem dignatur in cordibus fidelium habitare. Secundo prudentiam, quam consueuerunt[7] quondam toti uniuersali Ecclesiae mutuare. Nam totaliter prudentia et scientia periit inter eos.

Tertio[8] vitae sanctitas[9] quam ostendunt miracula,[10] penitus non existunt, quae puritatem[11] vitae ac fidei protestantur. Quarto armorum probitatem, per quam consueuerunt sua dominia conseruare, hostes subdere, inimicos conterere et fugare, et longe[12] lateque nomen suum et gloriam dilatare.[13] Hodie namque ab omnibus suis vitantur[14] turpiter et subduntur. Haec quae narro cum in Constantinopolim siue Pera, quod idem est, degerem contigerunt. Turchorum vix duo milia Imperatorem Michaelem patrem istius qui modo illic imperat cum decem milibus et amplius militibus existentem in campo quem [15]vallabat peditum maxima[15] multitudo viliter deuicerunt[16] et turpiter fugauerunt. et in praedam ejus tentoria et thronum imperialem atque coronam et multa alia spolia habuerunt. Cathalani[17] etiam, qui modo vocantur societas quae nunc est in ducatu et dominio Athenarum qui non habebant duo milia quingentos equites, ex quibus non erant ducenti homines de sanguine militari, eundem Michaelem cum quatuordecim milibus[18] existentem et cum peditum [19]multitudine copiosa aggressi fuerunt[19] cum audacia disperata, et ipsius[20] ordinatas acies destruxerunt, fugauerunt, et de ipsius exercitu multitudinem maximam peremerunt, et ipsum Michaelem de equo turpiter dejecerunt. Sed adjutus a suis et in equum alium subleuatus fugit e [P. 46] praelio [21]grauiter vulneratus,[21] quem

[4] *Propter*, M.

[5] *Et illi qui Grecorum perfidiam imitantur*, M.; P. corrects, in margin, *imitatur* to *imitata*.

[6] *Parat perdit*, M.

[7] *Consuenit*, M., which of course has *prudencia, sciencia*, below.

[8] Here M. has *3°*, another early case of Arabic numbering.

[9] *Sanctitatem*, M.

[10] Here M. adds *inter eos namque miracula*.

[11] *Veritatem*, M.

[12] M. omits *longe*.

[13] *Dilicare*, M.

[14] *Vincuntur*, M. P. corrects, in margin, *omnibus* **suis vitantur** to **hostibus** *suis vincuntur*.

[15] *Vallebat maxima peditum*, M.

[16] *Deuixerunt*, M., which reads *tronum*, below.

[17] *Cathalarum*, M.

[18] Here M. adds *equitum*.

[19] *Multitudinem aggressi fucrint*, M., omitting *copiosa*.

[20] *Ipsi*, M.

[21] *Attritus et vulneratus*, M., omitting *grauiter*.

etiam fugientem insequentes[22] in ciuitatem Andrinopolim[23] includi fecerunt et ibi obsessum diebus plurimis tenuerunt. Postmodum totam[24] illi [25]ciuitati adjacentem[25] patriam cursitantes ferro et incendiis lustrauerunt,[26] castra multa ceperunt, et ab illo loco usque ad terram, ubi nunc sedes detinent alienas, fere omnia destruentes, nullum praelium inuenerunt. Sic Graeci miseri sunt facti pusillanimes et excordes, ipsos[27] diuina gratia deserente et ultione debita persequente quod Tartarus eos circumcingit[28] et conculcat. Turchus subigit et captiuat.[29] Sclauus, Bulgarus, et hostis quilibet ipsos inuadit, exterminat, et annullat, nec spem habent nisi in consueto vocabulo *fyge fyge*,[30] quod in nostro Latino est dicere *fuge fuge*.

[31]Secundo facit[31] ad dictum imperium acquirendum ipsius lacrymabilis depopulatio et lamentabilis solitudo, castra diruta, ciuitates desertae, villae solitariae, agri succensi, populus captiuatus, nobiles facti praeda, sexus uterque in seruitatem ductus ante faciem subsequentis, nec est nisi expertus qui posset credere populi hujus afflictionem et multitudinem servitutis. Ego cum in partibus Persidis commorarer, vidi saepius Graecorum multitudinem captiuorum utriusque sexus, aetatis, et gradus, qui cum gemitibus et suspiriis ducebantur et quasi jumenta in foro pure[32] vendebantur.

Separabantur ab inuicem mater a filio, filius a patre, amicus ab amico, et carus a caro, dum unus istum comparat, alter illum. Dispergebantur sic tristes et miserabiles in diuersa, se mutuo amplius non visuri. Et quod pejus omnibus erat, illam quam suus emptor sectam seu perfidiam obtinebat, siue Sarracenus esset aut idolatra vel Judaeus, illam oportebat emptitium [33]profiteri, [M. 14 v] abnegato[33] cultu, fide, ac nomine Christiano. Et sic transductis,[34] venditis, ac seductis plusquam CCC. M.[35] esse in solo imperio Persidis asseruntur. Quis ergo poterit[36] numerare quot de ipsis in alia imperia Tartarorum[37] et in Aegyptum et[38] alia mundi climata sunt venditi et dispersi, praeter innumerabiles[39] qui fame, igne, et gladio sunt consumpti. Nunquam fui[40]

[22] M. omits *insequentes*.
[23] *Andripolim*, M.
[24] Here M. adds *diebus plurimis tenuerunt postmodum totam*.
[25] *Cuius adiacentum*, M.
[26] *Vastauerunt*, M.
[27] Here M. omits *ipsos*.
[28] *Conterit*, M.
[29] *Captiuus*, M.
[30] *Fige, fige*, M., which inserts *dicere* above line, as correction.
[31] *Secundam facilitatem facit*, M.
[32] *Puplice*, M., which reads *optinebat, Saracenus, ydolatra*, below.
[33] *Profiteri, profiteri, tum abnegato*, M.
[34] *Traditis*, M.
[35] *CCCCM*, M.
[36] M. omits *poterit*.
[37] *Tartorum*, M.
[38] Here M. adds *ad*.
[39] *Innuerabiles*, M.
[40] *Sui*, M.

ad quasdam et quantumcunque extraneas[41] nationes ubi Graecos non viderim captiuatos. Sicque in ipsis maledictio completa esse videtur per Moysen durius[42] imprecata populo Israelis Dominum deserenti. *Tradet te Dominus corruentem,* ait, *ante hostes tuos. Per* [P. 47] *unam viam egredieris*[43] *contra eos, et*[44] *per septem fugias et dispergaris in omnia regna mundi.*

Tertia facilitas ad capiendum imperium satis patet, si attendatur quod in Graecorum capite temporali non est consilium, non est fortitudo, non est prudentia, non est virtus. Si enim caput eorum esset sanum, validum, atque forte, profecto corpus subditum bene regeret ac seruaret, et ad menbra cetera ipsa se diffunderet[45] valitudo, cum bonum regimen corporis a bona dispositione capitis proueniat[46] et descendat. Nunc vero iste qui nunc est caput et rector eorum sic est effeminatus[47] et omni carnalitati deditus et subjectus, sic est ab omni strenuitate armorum et experientia segregatus, sic est ab omni militari prudentia alienus quod nec tantae destructioni imperii nec tam euidenti direptioni sui populi occurrere vult [48]seu valet. Quinimo[48] populus ille, qui dudum dominari consueuit omnibus nationibus orientis, qui fortes ac validos populos et ferreas nationes solitus fuit atterere ac subdere sub tributo, nunc sub isto et in isto Imperatore ab omnibus suis vicinis hostibus imperatur et tributis seruiens est effectus ad imperialis nominis dedecus, opprobrium[49] et jacturam. Ipse namque factus est Catalanis de ducatu Athenarum, qui vocantur societas, et Turchis ac Tartaris plusquam seruus[50] dum contra eos non audet bella mouere nec etiam cogitare. Imo per tributum quod offert annuatim[51] singulis praedictorum cum solicitudine et timore suam vexationem redimit, quin potius vilitatem, cum gentes praedictae aut sint ita pauci quod de ipsis non esset penitus mentio facienda, aut certe sint tales quod ad fugam apti sunt potius quam ad bellum, si iste Imperator haberet in se aliquam probitatem aut prudentiam vel prouidentiam imperium disponendi aut virtutem et audaciam resistendi. Ad se ipsum ergo ordinatus non est, nec ad subditos, nec ad Deum, bibulus, ebriosus, lubricus,[52] infidus, plusquam Graecus, [53]ambitiosus, superbus,[53] elatus, vanus,[54] vacuus omni bono,

[41] *Exermas,* M.
[42] *Diucius,* M.
[43] *Egredïaris,* M.
[44] M. here omits *et.*
[45] *Defundent,* M.
[46] M. omits *pro.*
[47] *Estimatus,* M.
[48] *Aut . . . Quinimmo,* M.
[49] *Opprobium,* M., which reads *Turcis, immo,* below
[50] *Suus,* M.
[51] *Annuanti,* M.
[52] *Libricus,* M.
[53] *Superbus, ambiciosus,* M.
[54] Here M. adds *et.*

videri Imperator et bonus[55] dici appetit plus quam esse. In promissis ipse fallax, in juramentis[56] mendax, non videtur in malitiis erubescere, sed in iniquitatibus[57] potius gloriari.

Quarta facilitas est, quia etiam populus ille Graecus non solum, ut praedicitur, in suo temporali capite titubat tremulus et infirmus, verum et[58] sub spirituali [P. 48] rectore jacet morbidus[59] et infectus. Ut enim quidam ait eximius prophetarum abstulit ab eis Deus validum et fortem judicem et prophetam ariolum et magnum honorabilem vultu consiliarium et sapientem et prudentem eloquii mystici. Non enim est in viris ecclesiasticis debita sacerdotalis dignitas aut judicialis auctoritas, non vitae ac morum nisi ficta et simulata sanctitas vel honestas, non scientiae vel doctrinae veritas, quibus populus corrigatur a malis, defendatur in aduersis, prouocetur et augmentetur[60] in bonis, instruatur in veris, abducatur a[61] dubiis et a falsis. Sed re vera caecus coeco praestat regimen[62] ducatum, et sic ambo in foueam proruunt et[63] ruinam. Ad tantum lapsum et ad tantum casum est illa quondam inclita nunc abjecta Graecorum Ecclesia deuoluta quod Imperator, licet sit in se monstrausus,[64] ut praedicitur, et deformis, Episcopos et[65] Abbates indifferenter et pro suae libito voluntatis constituit, transfert,[66] destituit, restituit, capit, proscribit, incarcerat, atque punit. Ipsi Patriarcham suum reputant, licet falso, uniuersalem et unicum ac solum esse in terris Petri Apostoli [M. 15 r] successorem et super omnes mundi Ecclesias vicarium Jesu Christi. Et licet apud[67] eos idem Patriarcha tantae auctoritatis[67] et excellentiae habeatur, tamen ego vidi quatuor simul viuos per Imperatorem depositos et abjectes et quintum, qui viuentibus et videntibus quatuor supradictis patriarchale nomen et gradum ac praeeminentiam[67] obtinebat non sine timore depositionis pariter et tremore. De omnibus eorum ineptiis quas circa istam materiam obtinent et obseruant dicere per singula extra nostrum propositum fieri videretur. Hoc tamen dico, quod Ecclesiarum ipsarum[68] ordinatio non videtur apud homines oculatos [69]nisi quidam[69] typus

[55] *Boni*, M.
[56] *Juramento*, M.
[57] *Iniqus*, M., without contraction-sign.
[58] *Etiam*, M.
[59] *Moribundus*, M., which reads *mistici*, below.
[60] *Augmententur*, M.
[61] Here M. omits *a*.
[62] Here M. adds *et*.
[63] *Ei*, M.
[64] *Menstruosus*, M.
[65] *Et*, M. omits here.
[66] *Transferri*, M.
[67] *Preminenciam*, M., which reads *autoritatis* above and treats *apud* as if a proper name, with capital.
[68] *Ipsorum*, M.
[69] *Quidem*, M., omitting *nisi*.

phantasticus[70] ludentium puerorum; qui postquam dignitatem illam trufaticam tenuerunt, domum reuersi, sunt pueri fatui sicut ante. Patria ergo sine capite debito, sine duce, cujus gens absque consilio et sine prudentia, et populus insipiens atque stultus, cujus ciuitates desertae, portae destructae, sacerdotes gementes, et ipsa oppressa[71] amaritudine et repleta, patet quod sit faciliter capienda.

Explicit sexta pars. Incipit septima pars, quae sub se continet duas partes.

Septima pars hujus directorii duas sub se particulas continebit. Et prima dabit modum quomodo imperium faciliter capiatur. Secunda autem ostendet [P. 49] facilitates[72] quas ex captione hujusmodi passagium consequetur.[73]

Primo ergo dandus est modus per quem imperium faciliter capiatur. Circa quod sciendum est[74] quod pars illa imperii quam nunc occupat hic tyrannus tres principaliores continet ciuitates. Prima et major ac caput imperii[75] est Constantinopolis, secunda[76] Thessalonica quae ambae situm[77] suum obtinent super mare. Tertia est Andrinopolis distans per quinque paruas dietas a Constantinopoli infra terram. Ciuitas Constantinopolis est satis in plano territorio situata, et est in modum trianguli figurata;[78] cujus quidem latus quodlibet demonstratur sex miliaria continere. Unum vero latus extenditur super terram, duo autem alia super mare. Muros habet undique, et in aliqua sui parte duplices, licet non altos, tamen integros et illaesos. Licet vero tanti sit ambitus, paruus [79]populus tamen[79] ibi commoratur respectu ipsius continentiae ciuitatis. Nam vix de ipsa ciuitate pars tertia habitatur. Reliquae vero sunt [80]horti vel[80] campi aut vineae[81] aut desertum.

Populus ejus sunt piscatores, aut[82] mercatores, seu marinarii, vel artifices, seu[83] fossores, nobiles autem pauci, inermes ut mulieres, timidi et pauidi ut Judaei, sicut illi qui non nouerunt unquam ad bella procedere nec in acie militare nec contra hostem aliquem arma ferre. [84]Ciuitatis ergo praeparetur[84] obsidio in hunc modum, per terram[85]

[70] *Fantasticus*, M.
[71] *Aspersa*, M.
[72] *Utilitates*, M.
[73] *Consequatur*, M.
[74] Here M. omits *est*.
[75] *Imperii*, M.
[76] M. omits *secunda*.
[77] *Scitum*, M.
[78] *Situ rata*, M.
[79] *Tamen populus*, M.
[80] *Orti aut*, M.
[81] *Vnice*, M.
[82] M. omits *aut* here.
[83] *Aut*, M.
[84] *Ciuitati . . . prepararetur*, M.
[85] Here M. adds *quidem*.

videlicet et per mare, [86]per terram quidem[86] ad portam quae dicitur aurea et circa in[87] quatuor vel quinque locis seu pluribus secundum quod visum [88]fuerit expedire.[88] Ideo autem dico ad portam illam, quia est juxta mare, unde haberi poterit subsidium liberius et succursus. Est etiam ibi murus non multum altus, fossata non profunda, quae etiam faciliter poterunt adimpleri. Nulla ibi alicujus alterius[89] aedificii muro propinqua interius altitudo major. Insuper est ibi interius et exterius solitudo. Atque cum porta illa capta fuerit atque[90] aperta, ingressus facilior cunctis erit, et tam equitum quam peditum contra partem illam ciuitatis[91] quae habitatur erit cursus liberior et aggressus. Ducum[92] autem exercitus erit de arietibus ad muros ubi possibile [93]videbitur diruendos, de citoniis[93] ad ponendum homines armatos absque omni periculo[94] super muros, de scalis muris etiam applicandis, de [P. 50] igne ad portas ubi ingressus esse debuerit succendendas, et de aliis ad hoc opportunis[95] et necessariis cum dispositione congrua prouidere. De machinis autem pro ista ciuitate non est necessarium cogitare. Non enim sunt, ut praemittitur, alti muri nec fossata ita[96] profunda quin possint applanari.[97] Et tunc cursim[98] equites et pedites cum scuto et lancea in omnibus illis sex miliaribus quibus [99]ciuitas adjacet[99] super terram ipsam poterunt [M. 15 v] impugnare. Nec etiam ad partem illam sunt turres altae, nec castella, nec palatia supra muros aut etiam juxta ipsos. Ad partem autem ciuitatis quae situm obtinet supra mare, quae respicit versus Peram, de qua quidem Pera feci superius mentionem, sciendum quod mare est muris[1] propinquum in aliquibus locis ad duas, in aliquibus autem[2] ad mediam lanceam militarem, in aliquibus etiam ipsos muros percussit[3] ciuitatis, ita quod inter ciuitatem et mare paruum et artum spatium remanent[4] strictae viae. Mare tamen [5]ita modo debito[5] est profundum, sine scopulis, sine petris, quod nauis quantumcunque[6] magna ad quatuor vel sex palmos[7] juxta terram vel

[86] M. omits these three words.
[87] M. omits *in*.
[88] M. omits these two words.
[89] *Alti*, M.
[90] *Et*, M., which reads *cunta*, above.
[91] *Ciuitas*, M.
[92] *Dudum*, M., which reads *excercitus*, below.
[93] *Videbatur . . . et ciconiis*, M.
[94] Here M. adds *et formidine*.
[95] *Hec oportunis*, M.
[96] *Et*, M.
[97] *Possint faciliter complanari*, M.
[98] *Cursum*, M.
[99] *Aiacet ciuitas*, M.
[1] *Nimis*, M.
[2] Here M. adds *Ad unam* [*vn-*], *in aliquibus*.
[3] *Percutit*, M.
[4] *Remanet*, M.
[5] *Modo debito ita*, M.
[6] *Quantum* only, M.
[7] *Palmas*, M.

ad plus ad unam cannam potest assumere vel deponere onus suum. Igitur ad impugnandum ciuitatem modo debito per hanc partem naues magnae et vacuae praeparentur[8] cum altis propugnaculis et castellis, cum aperta[9] in grauellorum et varii generis balistarum et super quamlibet[10] nauium aedificium valde utile ac facile erigetur, per quod et de quo super muros et turres quadringenti[11] simul et semel vel amplius homines deponentur operti et muniti cum omnibus suis armis qui de muris et turribus aduersarios abigendo, ascensuris aliis locum dabunt per scalas ad hoc industrie praeparatas. Hoc aedificium vidi prius quando bellum contra Turchos, cui ego[12] interfui, gerebatur per Dominum Martinum Zachariae ciuem Januae, industrium utique probatum ac strenuum hominem et fidelem, qui de Turchis me praesente[13] plures victorias obtinuit et triumphos, qui fuit nepos Domini Benedicti Zachariae quondam, cujus in factis maris adhuc celebris fama viuit. Praefatum ergo Dominum [P. 51] Martinum tenet Imperator nunc[14] dictus Graecorum proditionaliter captum et indebite ac injuste[15] in carcere vinculatum: quem si [16]haberetis, quem et, si[16] velletis, Domine mi Rex, faciliter haberetis, haberetis utique hominem qui plus egit quam aliquis quem credam viuere super terram maris varios actus belli arduos, strenuos, ac honestos, utpote qui nunquam contra fidelem Christianum aliquando[17] arma sumpsit, sed semper contra Turchos nostrae fidei inimicos experiri voluit[18] vires suas, quibus intulit saepius plagas magnas, quem procul dubio possetis exponere ad omnia quae fidelitatem expeterent et [19]omnem requirerent probitatem.[19] Praeparabuntur etiam [20]barchae multae in modum tecti[20] bipendentis [21]coopertae desuper,[21] quas barbotas vocant, in quibus remiges[22] et armati homines non videntur,[23] ipsi vident omnia circumquaque, de quibus balistarii hostes cogunt secedere in muris[24] ac propugnaculis existentes. Istis igitur balistariis cum barbotis circumeuntibus[25] juxta litus et sua spicula certius jacientibus contra hostes, nullus[26] audebit in muris eminus apparere. Et

[8] *Preparantur*, M.
[9] *Apparatu*, M.
[10] *Qualibet*, M.
[11] *Quadringente*, M.
[12] *Ergo*, M.
[13] *Presentes*, M.
[14] Here M. adds *ducc*.
[15] *Iuste*, M.
[16] *Hereticis quem si*, etc., M.
[17] *Aliquem*, M.
[18] Here M. adds *et exercuit*.
[19] *Onum* [contraction mark for *omnium* not given] *probitatem . . . acquirerent*, M.
[20] *Brache . . . recti*, M.
[21] *Desuper coopertae*, M.
[22] *Remige*, M.
[23] Here M. adds *et*.
[24] Here M. adds *et turribus*.
[25] *Circuentibus*, M.
[26] *Nullos*, M.

tunc alii ad hoc studiosius ordinati cum arietibus atque palis poterunt liberius murorum diruere fundamenta. Praeparabuntur etiam uxeria quorum multiplex erit usus.[27] In aliquibus enim trabes ferratae disponentur rostrum habentes ferreum et acutum, per funes inter duos malos in longum et infra [28]corpus breui[28] appendentes et per portam puppis exterius[29] ad leuem impulsum portae ciuitatis percussae celerius confringentur et muri fortius quatientur. In aliis autem uxeriis erunt machinae quae[30] quadraginta vel quinquaginta lapides trium vel quatuor librarum simul proicient in sacco aliquo implicatos. Quando vero saccus erit in altum cum lapidibus eleuatus, cum inceperint descendere saccus frangetur, et[31] dispergentur, et tecta domorum, quae sunt de valde fragili et vili materia, destruentur. Post haec in aliis uxeriis aliae machinae disponentur, quae in vasis ad hoc idonee praeparatis ignitos globos proicient et flammatos, et in domos cadent quas inuenient sine tectis. Et tunc[32] domus, quae omnes de ipsa ciuitate, exceptis paucis palatiis, sunt de lignis, incendio conflagrabunt. Oportebit [P. 52] ergo quod tunc hostes muros deserant [M. 16 r] cum viderint se bello et igne undique circumseptos et quod subueniant incendio ciuitatis, aut certe quod obedientiae subiciant colla sua. Nec dubium quin istis per terram et per mare ita dispositis, et bellis ut praemittitur et aggressibus ordinatis et undique pariter inchoatis, infra unius diei spatium [33]capietur.[33] Ista autem non descripsi ut credam [34]omnia fore necessaria ad praedictam victoriam obtinendam, cum non credam[34] imo sciam ipsos non esse sufficientes ad resistentiam faciendam. Sed ideo haec praemisi ne forte tunc essent aliqui de occidentalibus populis qui suae obliti fidei atque legis, inducti promissis, et pecunia[35] seducti, ad obuiandum[36] huic negotio tam utili, tam[37] salubri ad ampliationem fidei orthodoxae, et qui praesumerent ad defendendum istos haereticos manum dare; licet etiam de hoc nihil penitus sit curandum aut in aliquo formidandum. Jam enim per paruum satis exercitum Balduini hanc ciuitatem bis legimus esse captam, quando scilicet erat magis plena populo et referta, et quando imperium in suo flore vigebat et in suo robore perdurabat, nec erat tunc ab hostibus sic inuasum et a diuersis gentibus dissipatum.

Ciuitas Thessalonica ab illo exercitu capietur qui per [38]Hydruntum et per Brundisium[38] transfretabit et per Dalmatiam et Rassiam trans-

[27] *Versus*, M.
[28] *Corus vrerii*, M.
[29] Here M. adds *exeuntes cum quibus*.
[30] Here M. adds *ad*.
[31] Here M. adds *lapides*.
[32] *Cum*, M.
[33] *Ciuitas capiatur*, M.
[34] M. omits these ten words, *omnia . . . credam*, reading *innimo* for *imo* just after.
[35] Here M. adds *et*.
[36] *Obiciendum*, M.
[37] *Causa*, M., which of course reads *excercitum*, below.
[38] *Ydrontum . . . Brundusium*, M.

migrabit. Nam ad hunc[39] finem direxi in Thessalonicam supradictos. Et licet ipsius ciuitatis magnus ambitus sit murorum, qui etiam in parte aliqua sunt destructi, tamen intus populum paruum habet vilem, timidum, et inermem. Hoc etiam bonum est pro nostris quod muri in tanta circumferentia extendantur. Nam, quanto plures partes habebit de se facere populus iste vilis, tanto minor erit in eis virtus et possibilitas resistendi. Haec ciuitas per Marchionem Montisferrati cum satis paruo exercitu fuit capta, cui conquirenda per Balduinum in conquesta imperii quam supra tetigi fuit data. Huic ciuitati, cum sit in plano et super mare posita, bellum undique potest dari, licet non judicem fore necessarium quod per mare fiat aliquis apparatus. Ipsam enim terrestris exercitus cum dispositione congrua faciliter[40] obtinebit.

De Andrinopoli et aliis ciuitatibus imperii atque castris non me diffundo [P. 53] quomodo valeant obtineri. Capta enim Constantinopoli ciuitate, quae caput est omnium illarum partium ciuitatum et totius imperii firmamentum, ceterae omnes continuo colla subdent.

Consequenter secundo dicendum de utilitatibus quae ex captione hujus imperii subsequentur. Inter alias autem utilitates, quas plurimas esse constat, septem breuiter explanabo. Prima utilitas est quod ouis errabunda et dragma perdita ad suum dominum et ouile debitum reducetur, Ecclesia videlicet Graeca in viris quondam illustribus vita, virtutibus, et miraculis gloriosis, verbo, doctrina, et scientia luminosis, foetosa in suis egressibus et abundans. Sicut autem dragma perdita[41] nisi post euersionem domus in qua mulier ipsam perdiderat nunquam potuit inueniri, sic nec istam unquam recuperare poterit sine metu perdendi pia mulier Romana Ecclesia Christianorum omnium mater una, nisi Graecorum domus, id est, ipsorum dominium penitus subuertatur et ab eis regnum per materialem gladium auferatur et detur genti quae faciat fructus ejus. Alias autem Romana Ecclesia quod dragmam perditam illam inuenerit[42] non poterit veraciter gratulari. Jam enim dudum veri pastoris gregis dominici Romani Pontifices spiritualem gladium sunt[43] experti, dum ouem illam per deserta errorum et scismatum oberrantem ac relicto grege fidelium per inobedientiae calles singulariter deuiantem conati sunt reducere monitionibus, reprehensionibus, punitionibus,[44] Nuntiis et Legatis, ac modis variis et diuersis, parati ipsam per offensarum et transgressionum dissimulationem atque remissionem super [M. 16 v] humeros paternae patientiae supportare ac in sinum maternae dilectionis et[45] misericordiae refouere. Quae licet aliquando crediderit et ad ouile debitum pastorem verum atque sollicitum sit secuta,

[39] *Hanc*, M.
[40] *Facili*, M.
[41] Here M. adds *cum*.
[42] *Inuenerat*, M.
[43] *Sicut*, M.
[44] *Peticionibus*, M.
[45] Here M. omits *et*.

tamen vagari[46] solita, superba, semper inobediens et rebellis, cito nimis unitatis septa disrupit,[47] et tanquam indomita et feralis mansuetudinis atque subjectionis confregit vincula et abjecit. Nec debet quis paruum aliquid reputare, quando sola haec utilitas et non alia ex passagio sequeretur, si Graecorum spirituale et temporale dominium ad unitatem fidei et obedientiam Ecclesiae [48]reduceretur seu reuocaretur,[48] ut sunt Rutheni, Sclaui, Gothi,[48] Georgiani, Blaqui, Alani, et quidam alii populi, qui omnes Graecos in suis ritibus et erroribus imitantur. Secunda utilitas est quod [P. 54] de[49] ipso imperio habebitur pro toto exercitu bladi, vini, et carnium abundantia copiose; nisi forte deficerent [50]segetes et vineae.[50] Quod raro contingit ut si deficiat una regio, alia non abundet. Et tunc, ut inferius designabo, prouideri poterit de remedio opportuno. Tertia utilitas est, quia illo imperio conquisito non oportebit exercitum Domini dubitare de hoste quem post se reliquerit qui possit ei moliri[51] insidias, suscitare inimicitias, ordinare fraudulentias atque dolos, quae[52] consueuerunt jugiter emanare a Graecorum falsitatibus et proditionibus consuetis, sed tantum ad interiora [53]contendet se extendere,[53] coram se publicos fidei hostes habens, quos sicut puluis ante faciem venti diuino fretus auxilio tribulabit. Quarta utilitas est quod nauile cujuscunque generis habebit portus optimos et securos varios et diuersos ac plurimum opportunos, in quibus [54]poterunt noua nauilia[54] fieri, antiqua vel fracta reparari, integra conseruari, et non jam sicut in aliena sed[55] sicut in domo propria hyemare vel cum expedierit aestiuare. Cum enim peccatis nostris exigentibus ab Alexandria Ægypti usque Constantinopolim non sit portus aliquis habitatus, in quo sufficienter atque secure possit cum suo nauili exercitus declinare, qui non ab hostibus fidei teneatur, ut inferius declarabo, patet quod accomodum[56] et utile nimis erit ut per modum praedictum portus proprii habeantur. Quinta utilitas est, quia tunc illi qui vos, Domine mi Rex, in hoc tam sancto negotio subsequentur, ibi poterunt tutius applicare, equos et sua corpora recreare, ac sibi de necessariis prouidere, siue per mare illuc peruenerint, seu per terram, cum vos praeparaueritis eis viam et ante ipsos processeritis pandens iter. Sexta utilitas est, quia illud quod de terra sancta et de aliis dictis[57] terris infidelium capietur, per istud acquisitum imperium

[46] *Vaparii*, M.

[47] *Dirrupit*, M.

[48] *Reuocentur multe namque gentes et magne ad vnitatem fidei reducentur ut sunt Ruteni . . . Goti . . .*, M.

[49] Here M. omits *de*.

[50] *Segites aut vince*, M.

[51] *Molliri*, M., which of course reads also *habundancia, habundet, oportuno, oportunum, puplicos, tucius, suplebant*.

[52] *Qui*, M.

[53] *Se contendet extendere*, M.

[54] *Potuerunt noualia*, M.

[55] *Set*, M.

[56] *Comodum*, M.

[57] M. omits *dictis*.

poterit conseruari ad quod super omnia judico insistendum. Nihil enim valet optata conquirere nisi homo studeat acquisita[58] solerti vigilantia conseruare. Ad hoc enim antiqui Romani saepius et attentius diminutam vel perditam militiam per nouos exercitus reparabant, legiones supplebant, consules renouabant, ut rebelles contereret, perdita conquireret, conquisita protegeret victoriae auida recens virtus. Quod autem [59]Graecorum imperium[59] ad conseruandam[60] conquestam terrae sanctae sit plurimum opportunum, [P. 55] hoc ostendi poterit ex duobus, videlicet ex antiquarum historiarum narratione, et ex loci aptitudine et dispositione. Ex antiquis namque historiis manifeste collegitur et habetur quod florente in fide imperio et in[61] suis viribus perdurante, sceptrum orientalis dominii [62]monarchice ac imperterrite[62] obtinebat, et[63] hostilis barbaries cum sua perfidia marcescebat. Quando vero et quantum imperium hoc coepit a recto calle deficere et a viis prioribus declinare, tunc et[64] tantum hostium truculenta [65]saeuitia [M. 17 r] incepit[65] cornua suae dominationis erigere ac suae immanitatis viribus praeualere. Hoc in Heraclio ñ ciu̇[66] legitur habuisse: qui cum de Cosdroë famosum illum triumphum et victoriam reportasset, et crucem sanctam et ciuitatem Hierusalem mirabiliter liberasset, tandem per errorem Monothelitarum,[67] qui unam tantum naturam in Christo fuisse suis assertionibus mentiuntur, quam tunc Cyrus Alexandrinus[68] Episcopus et Sergius Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus ausu sacrilego praedicabant, fuisse asseritur deprauatus, et tunc protinus per Humarum discipulum perfidi Machometi terra sancta inuaditur, capitur, et excepto modico interuallo, quo ipsam recuperando tenuimus, per infideles usque ad haec tempora possidetur. Hoc malum continuationem habuit in illis qui postmodum Heraclio successerunt. Nam ex tunc vix inuenitur quod in parte vel in toto infidelis non fuerit Graecorum Imperator, vel populus, vel uterque. Et sic ipsorum perfidia succrescente, et militia torpescente, aduersariis audacia jungitur, victoriae succedunt, triumphi proueniunt, vires crescunt in tantum quod fere usque ad muros ciuitatis Constantinopolis sua dominia produxerunt. In tota Asia et minori in qua late et diffuse Graeci dominium obtinebant, nihil modo relinquendum possident, aut perdendum, nisi quaedam loca minoris Asiae, quae hostibus undique circumsepta trepidant in perditionis formidine ac

[58] *Conquisita*, M.
[59] *Imperium Grecorum*, M.
[60] *Conseruandam*, M.
[61] Here M. omits *in*.
[62] *Monarchie ac inperterite*, M.
[63] Here M. omits *et*.
[64] Here M. omits *et*.
[65] *Se cepit*, orig. M.; *uicia* added later, below line.
[66] *Inicium*, M.; P. corrects in margin, reading *initium*.
[67] *Monelitarum*, M., which reads *Eraclio, Ierusalem*, above; *Cirus, Macometi, subcrescente, nichil, Asye*, below.
[68] *Alexandrius*, M.

timore. Nec dubium igitur, si imperium de manu infidelium tolleretur, et ibi fides catholica sub obedientia Romanae Ecclesiae celebraretur,[69] et ab erroribus et haereticis purgaretur, atque in statum antiquum et pristinum poneretur, quin statim hostes ut prius [70]dominia benigniter[70] contereret ac fugaret. Idem enim est Deus justus et pius, qui sicut per infidelitates et praua [P. 56] opera ad iracundiam prouocatur, ita per fidem et opera ad misericordiam reuocatur. Utilitas etiam haec patet ex loci dispositione. Post acquisitionem enim terrae sanctae non posset [71]illic suboriri[71] aliquid nouitatis quin posset per imperium faciliter subueniri. Et hoc satis patet diligentius intuenti, si respiciatur ipsius ad terram sanctam propinquitas, viarum maris et terrae facilitas, locorum habilitas, et portuum diuersorum commoditas, et multa alia quae [72]superius sunt[72] praetacta et inferius disserentur. Septima utilitas est, quia sicut emargunt[73] casus varii et diuersi, si contingeret exercitum aggrauari, seu de nobilibus vel de[74] aliis quibuscunque quempiam infirmari aut certe impediri, vel redire [75]exercitus principem[75] siue mori, ad loca imperii possent reduci et ibi moram contrahere et foueri sicut in domibus propriis siue terris atque sine impedimento, detrimento et formidine expectare donec per salubre remedium quod deest [76]contingeret, suppleretur.[76]

Explicit septima pars. Octaua pars continet ordinationes quas acquisito imperio fieri oportebit ut imperium in Francorum dominio conseruetur.

Post utilitates ostensas quae ex capto imperio subsequentur, consequenter sex ordinationes ponendae sunt, per quas quidem ad veritatem fidei et unitatem Ecclesiae atque ad fidelitatem Domini ipsum poterit imperium conseruari. Quilibet[77] in suo sensu[78] abundat. Ego autem has fore necessarias judico et affirmo sicut me scientia et experientia docuerunt. Circa quas quia hactenus non fuit adhibita diligentia[79] et cautela, Francorum ibi dominium quasi flos faeni, quod hodie est et cras tollitur, fuit semper. Ergo in ista octaua parte ordinationes istae breuiter subnectantur.

Prima ordinatio est, quod omnes Latini qui fidem et Ecclesiam catholicam verbo vel opere aut utroque pariter negauerunt et Graecam perfidiam usque ad haec tempora sunt secuti, nisi resipuerint,[80] tanquam

[69] *Coleretur*, M.
[70] *Diuina benignitas*, M.
[71] *Illuc suborriri*, M.
[72] *Sunt superius*, M., which reads *comoditas* above.
[73] *Emergunt*, M.
[74] Here M. omits *de*.
[75] *Principem exercitus*, M.
[76] *Continget suppleretur*, M., which reads *adquisito*, *habundat*, below.
[77] Here M. adds *autem*.
[78] *Usu*, M.
[79] Here M. adds *debita*.
[80] *Respuerint*, M.

haeretici tradantur curiae seculari poena debita puniendi. Si autem redierint, in perpetuum [M. 17 v] cruces ferant, et extra totum imperium in exilium relegentur, et perpetua sint infames, ut sic lux catholicorum ab haereticorum tenebris diuidatur.[81] Hujusmodi enim contra fidem et Ecclesiam Romanam ejusque[82] filios et cultores sunt,[83] fuerunt, et erunt indubie[84] nequiores quam illi qui a matris ubere Graecorum erroribus et proditionibus sunt imbuti, tanquam illi quos nequam spiritus et immundus cum septena [P. 57] nequiorum spirituum comitiua sibi in domicilium et requiem legitur elegisse. Secunda, quod omnes monachi, quos Calogeros id est bonos senes appellant, de toto imperio expellantur et per diuersas partes occiduas dispergantur, nisi vellent a suis erroribus resilire[85] et eos publice abjurare et[86] fidem catholicam Romanae Ecclesiae profiteri. Et tunc Inquisitores nihilominus ordinentur, qui contra relapsos[87] inquirant diligentius et procedant. Ipsi enim Calogeri humilem habitum deferentes multae fore abstinentiae se fingentes per comestionem quorundam[88] seminum, qua faciem suam [89]extenuant, vultum pallidum,[89] ut jejunantes appareant, hominibus ostendentes, ac per quaedam suspiria et verba humilia, procelli[90] ac vultus retorsionem et oculorum conuersionem[91] quandam sanctitatis imaginem praetendentes, lupi vero rapaces in ouium vestimentis, et hypocritae plusquam ficti, sepulcris similes dealbatis, ita Imperatorem et nobiles, clerum et populum uniuersum obtinent dementatos quod quicquid dixerint credunt, quicquid jusserint exequuntur.[92] Ipsi eos in odio Romanae Ecclesiae, in obstinata[93] suae perfidiae, in duritia scismatis, in coecitate erroris erudiunt, nutriunt, et confirmant. Ipsi fel, ipsi fermentum, qui Graecorum antiquam dulcedinem sanctitatis[94] in amaritudinem conuerterunt, et totam illius massam Ecclesiae[95] corruperunt. Quandiu[96] illi cum libertate consueta durabunt, illa semper nutabit[97] Ecclesia, semper in fide illi nobiles, ille clerus et populus titubabunt, semper ibi Francorum dominium instabile permanebit. Tamdiu cum se catholicos simulabunt, tamdiu cum suis

[81] *Diuidantur*, M.; the next word in M. could be either *huius* or *huiusmodi*.
[82] *Eius quod*, M.
[83] Here M. adds *et*.
[84] *Indubio*, M.
[85] *Resilere*, M., which reads *puplice*, *nichilominus*, *commestionem*, *ymaginem*, below.
[86] *Ac*, M.
[87] *Lapsos*, M.
[88] *Tam*, M.
[89] *Exteriant*, *vultu quorum palidum*, M.
[90] *Per colli*, M., as P. corrects in margin.
[91] *Conuersionem*, M.
[92] *Exequentur*, M.
[93] *Obstinacia*, M.
[94] *Sanctitatem*, M.
[95] M. omits *Ecclesie*.
[96] *Quamdiu igitur*, M.
[97] *Mutabit*, M., which reads *ypocrisi* below.

fictionibus, hypocrisi, ac simultatibus[9] suum cooperient cor iniquum, donec suis falsitatibus et proditionibus consuetis Francorum dominium, quod sibi jugum reputabit[10] onerosum tanquam animal indomitum atque ferox, a se reicient ac[1] repellent. Ad hoc, nisi praecaueatur, satis sibi consentaneas orientales inuenient nationes; quae nouitates, quomodocunque[2] finiri debeant,[3] incipere non formidant. De his ea quae dixi an ita sint satis inueniet firmitates qui antiquas historias perscrutatur.

Tertia ordinatio est, quod quicumque plus quam unum filium habuerit, alterum ad scholas[4] ponere teneatur Latinis literis imbuendum.[5] Et nisi quod litera Graeca una de principalibus tribus extat[6] quibus tripliciter crucifixi Domini nostri titulus est inscriptus, consulerem salubriter, prout aestimo, et prudenter [P. 58] ut omnis[7] illa litera deleretur. Ad hoc autem bene posset modus possibilis inueniri. Non enim puto nec putant illi qui inter Graecos fuerunt aliquo tempore conuersati quod ipsi totiens ad vomitum reduxissent,[8] si deletis propriis, Latinas literas habuissent. Et ideo[9] dico Graecorum pueros nostris literis imbuendos, ut saltem cum adoleuerint scientia et aetate, in nostris libris illa videant et intelligant per se ipsos quibus ipsorum errores rationibus veridicis ac Scripturarum testimoniis confutantur et sana fides pariter et doctrina Ecclesiae roborantur, et sic alios confirmabunt, et ipsimet in fidelitate dominii[10] verius atque[11] liberius absque mutatione aliqua perdurabunt. Quarta ordinatio est, quod quia Graeci habent libros quos ipsorum antiqui aut etiam moderni[12] haeretici conscripserunt,[13] in quibus errores plurimi[14] contra Romanam Ecclesiam ejusque filios multae blasphemiae continentur, per certos viros ad hoc specialiter deputatos cum [M. 18 r] diligentia perquirantur, contra ipsos detinentes adhibitis [15]minis, terroribus, atque poenis.[15] Cumque praedicti libri inuenti fuerint, protinus comburantur. Quinta ordinatio est, quod in templo[16] sanctae Sophiae adunetur totus clerus et populus ciuitatis, ita quod unus ad minus de principalibus ciuibus[17] domus teneatur ibi praesentialiter[18]

[9] So M.; P. corrects in margin to *simulationibus*.
[10] *Reputant*, M.
[1] *A*, M.
[2] *Quoque*, M.
[3] *Debent*, M.
[4] *Scolam*, M.
[5] *Imbuendus*, M.
[6] *Exstat*, M.
[7] *Omnino*, M.
[8] *Rediissent*, M.
[9] *Ido*, M.
[10] *Domini*, M.
[11] *Ac*, M.
[12] *Noui*, M.
[13] *Conscripserint*, M.
[14] Here M. adds *contra fidem et*.
[15] *Iniciis et erroribus atque penis*, M.
[16] *Templum*, M.
[17] *Ciuilibus*, M.
[18] *Principaliter*, M.

conuenire. Et facto sermone ad populum, ad confessionem vocalem[19] nostrae fidei tunc per eos expressius faciendam atque ad unionem et obedientiam Romanae Ecclesiae ac summi Pontificis adducantur. Deinde approbando Francorum dominium, eidem spontanee se submittant, et obedientiam atque fidelitatem una voce [20]pronuntient et promittant.[20] Consequenter ibidem imperiales laudes incipiant unanimiter decantare sicut per eos alias suis Imperatoribus est fieri consuetum. Tunc Imperator aliquid de angariis seu tributis toti populo benigne relaxet quibus Imperatores Graeci consueuerunt populum aggrauare, ut sic Imperatoris noui solium in misericordia praeparetur. Sexta ordinatio est, quod [21]Ecclesiae modo debito disponantur.[21] Sunt enim in Graecorum Ecclesiis quaedam hactenus obseruata quae in magnam subuersionem dominii possent esse si sic in posterum perdurarent, sicut [22]etiam alias[22] noscitur [P. 59] contigisse dum[23] totaliter Francorum dominium destruxerunt et de suis finibus usque ad haec tempora expulerunt. Primam obseruantiam habent quod semper Calogerus in omnibus Ecclesiis Episcopus ordinatur, et nunquam aliquis, quantaecunque[24] excellentiae clericus secularis. Et cum hoc fere in omni castro seu villa aliquis de ipsis Calogeris in Episcopum ordinatur. Et sic prout volunt errores et scismata concitando, populorum corda sollicitant, et propter sanctitatis falsam imaginem quam praetendunt, et propter [25]quam praeminent dignitate,[25] magni et simplices eis credunt et quod [26]iusserint obedientius exequuntur.[26] Secundam obseruantiam habent quod in toto imperio non est religio nisi una, istorum[27] scilicet perfidorum. Sunt autem ibi abbatiae[28] plurimae diuites et potentes. Et quia non est ibi, ut praemittitur, religio nisi ista, oportet quod isti ipsas obtineant abbatias. Et sic ad malum jungitur fortitudo.

Tertiam obseruantiam habent ut nullus clericus secularis, cujuscunque famae aut[29] opinionis existat, in aliquo loco imperii confessiones audiat quorumcunque, sed soli Calogeri ad istud officium deputantur. Et sic, dum Calogerus confessor eligitur, dum Calogerus Abbas praeficitur, dum Calogerus Episcopus ordinatur, sequelam maximam post se trahit, et ad exequendam suam iniquam et subdolam volantatem obtinent[30] imperii totam summam.

Quartam obseruantiam habent quod ad suas Ecclesias, siue sint Calogerorum, siue secularium clericorum, conueniunt extraordinarie

[19] *Notalem*, M.
[20] *Pronunciant et promittent*, M.
[21] *Ecclesia . . . disponatur*, M.
[22] *Et animal*, M.
[23] *Quando*, M.
[24] *Quanteque*, M.
[25] *Illam quam preminent dignitatem*, M.
[26] *Iusserunt . . . exequentur*, M.
[27] *Istarum*, M.
[28] *Abathie*, M., which reads *abbathias* below.
[29] M. omits *fame aut*.
[30] *Optinet*, M.

saepius et frequenter,[31] et ibi conuenticula faciunt, ubi et conspirationes inueniunt, et eas cum opportunum viderint exequuntur.

Quintam obseruantiam habent quod quilibet qui potest tantum de suis possessionibus relinquere quod de ipsarum fructibus possit viuere unus homo, talis, si vult,[32] Ecclesiam unam facit in proprio campo, vinea, siue domo, et sacerdotem quem vult instituit in eadem et sui in posterum successores; in quibus, quia frequenter ad eas conueniunt, conspirationes possunt, ut consueuerunt in malum dominii pertractare; ubi tanto liberius quanto secretius, et tanto licentius [P. 60] quanto occultius ordinantur. Er ita sub deuotionis specie iniquitas tegitur, et occultatur proditio sub pallio pietatis.[33] Quantum vero ad quinque[34] praedicta in melius corrigenda poterit per quinque remedia prouideri.

[M. 18 v]. Primum remedium est quod boni ac probati viri et Deum timentes de his partibus oriundi illic[35] in Episcopos praeferantur.[36] Et quia episcopatus ibi multi sunt, et non habent [37]unde viuant nisi viliter[37] et abjecte, episcopatus duo vel tres in unum uniri poterunt sicut videbitur faciendum.

Secundum est quod de his partibus ducantur religiosi diuersorum [38]ordinum prouidi et honesti, qui possessiones et reditus habere possint secundum sui[38] ordinis instituta; de quibus praeficiantur Abbates in monasteriis ut[39] pro firmitate dominii videbitur expedire.

Tertium est quod illuc conuentus religiosorum mendicantium deducantur, qui cum linguam sciant,[40] confessiones audiant et injungant poenitentias salutares. Qui et populum ut in fide permaneat[41] poterunt commonere, et ut in dominii [42]fidelitate perseuerent,[42] se habeant confirmare.

Quartum est quod de Ecclesiis ciuitatis aliquae praefatis religiosis mendicantium assignentur, et in eisdem eorum conuentus etiam statuantur,[43] aliquae vero sacerdotibus secularibus[44] partium concedantur.

Quintum est quod omnes illae ecclesiunculae, quae magis speluncae maleficiorum atque latibula possunt dici, penitus diruantur, ne videamur conuenticula eorum de sanguinibus congregare.

Praedictis[45] igitur sex ordinationibus sic dispositis et firmatis, sicut

[31] *Frequequencius*, M., which reads *oportunum* below.
[32] *Prout male*, M.
[33] *Putatis*, M.
[34] *Quenque*, M.
[35] *Illuc*, M., which reads *hiis* above, *sicud* below.
[36] *Proferuntur*, M.
[37] *Unde nisi valde viliter*, M.
[38] *Ordinum pro sui*, M., omitting all the rest of these twelve words.
[39] *De quibus*, M.
[40] *Didiscerunt*, M.
[41] *Permaneant*, M., which reads *comonere*, below.
[42] *Fidelitatem perseueranter*, M.
[43] *Statuentur*, M.
[44] Here M. adds *istarum*.
[45] *Predicans*, M.

in sex diebus legitur Deus omnia condidisse et in septimo quieuisse, sic nouus etiam Imperator in firmitate solida omni dubietate remota imperium possidebit atque in pacis sabbato pepetuo requiescet. De castris et ciuitatibus custodiendis, et de iis quae necessaria fuerint [46]in nuedis[46] atque hominibus fidelibus committendis in praesenti opusculo non describo. Sufficit in eo illa utcunque[47] depingere et ad memoriam reuocare quae[48] non sunt omnibus manifesta.

De regno Rassiae, quomodo faciliter possit capi.

Ad regnum Rassiae redeo capiendum, cujus tanta erit facilitas obtinendi quanta [P. 61] voluntas fuerit inuadendi. Et ut hoc melius videatur, quaedam incitantia ad ipsum inuadendum et quasdam conditiones[49] faciles ad capiendum breuiter hic[50] describo. Regnum illud pauca et quasi nulla[51] loca habet fortia vel munita, sed totum est vile et casalia siue fossata, et penitus sine muris.

Aedificia et palatia tam Regis quam aliorum nobilium sunt de paleis et de lignis. Nunquam vidi ibi aliquod palatium siue domum de lapide nec de terra nisi in ciuitatibus maritimis[52] Latinorum. Illud [53]regnum est in blado, vino, oleo, et[53] carnibus opulentum.[54] Aquis praeterfluentibus fontium et fluminum est amoenum. Nemoribus, pratis, montibus, planis, et[55] vallibus est jocundum. Diuersarum ferarum nationibus est repletum. Et breuiter quicquid ibi nascitur est electum, et specialiter in parte illa quae situm obtinet supra mare. In regno illo sunt actu nunc quinque minae auri pariter cum argento in quibus magistri continue operantur. Sunt nihilominus argenteriae cum auro mixtae veraciter nunc repertae in[56] aliis locis pluribus et diuersis. Et cum hoc sunt ibi magna nemora et condensa.[57] Quicunque ergo habebit[58] regnum illud, habebit veraciter unum jocale appetibile[59] et optandum in toto seculo.[60]

Hoc inter cetera facit ad dictum regnum facilius capiendum quod sunt ibi duae nationes, una videlicet Albanensium[61] et[62] Latinorum, qui

[46] *Innuendis* or *imminendis*, M.
[47] *Utrumque*, M., which reads *comittendis*, above.
[48] *Quam*, M.
[49] *Codiciones*, M.
[50] *Hoc*, M.
[51] *Ulla*, M.
[52] *Maritinis*, M.
[53] *Regnum in blado, vino est et oleo et*, M.
[54] *Opulatum*, M.
[55] *Ac*, M.
[56] M. omits *in* here; reading *nichilominus* above.
[57] *Condempsa*, M.
[58] *Habuerit*, M.
[59] *Apprehensibile*, M.
[60] Here M. adds *preciosum*.
[61] *Albamensium*, M.
[62] Here M. adds *alia*.

omnes sub fide[63] et obedientia Romanae Ecclesiae perseuerant, et secundum hoc habent Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, et Abbates, ac inferiores status et gradus religiosos et clericos[64] seculares. Latini habent sex ciuitates cum suis Episcopis, primam[65] Antibarum archiepiscopalem, deinde Catharensem, Dulcedinensem,[66] Suaciensem,[67] Scutarensem, et Driuacensem; quas quidem solum[68] Latini inhabitant. Populus vero earum siue Albanenses in tota ipsarum diocesi[69] extra muros. Sunt etiam Albanensium [M. 19 r] quatuor ciuitates, videlicet [70]Polati, Minoris, Salutensis, et Albanensis.[70] Quae omnes cum praedictis ciuitatibus Latinorum Antibarensi Archiepiscopo et Ecclesiae [71]jure metropolitico[71] sunt subjectae. Et licet Albanenses aliam omnino linguam a Latina habeant et diuersam, tamen literam Latinam habent in usu et in omnibus suis libris. Latinorum igitur potentia infra ciuitatum suarum ambitum continetur. Extra enim suas ciuitates, licet possessiones vinearum obtineant et camporum, tamen nullum quod Latinum populum habeat castrum possident neque villam. Albanenses autem, quia major natio est, [P. 62] ponerent[72] in campo plus quam quindecim milia equitum ad omnem actum belli secundum morem et modum illius patriae expeditos et strenuos bellatores. Et praedicti tam Latini quam Albanenses sub jugo importabili et durissima seruitute illius odiosi et abominandi Sclauorum dominii sunt oppressi, populus scilicet angariatus, clerus dejectus et minoratus, Episcopi et Abbates saepius vinculati, nobiles exheredati et in personis propriis captauati, Ecclesiae tam episcopales quam aliae dissipatae et in suis juribus[73] annullatae, monasteria disperdita et destructa. Ipsi omnes et eorum singuli in praedictorum Sclauorum sanguine manus suas crederent consecrare quando viderent aliquem principem de Francorum eis partibus apparere, quem contra dictos[74] nepharios nostrae veritatis et fidei inimicos facerent ducem bellis. Cum praedictis autem Albanensibus [75]mille milites[75] Franci et quinque vel sex milia peditum procul dubio totum tale et tantum regnum cum facilitate nimia obtinerent. Ad hoc autem, Domine mi Rex, me exhibeo[76] redditurum coram justo judice, rationem quod magis esset gratum et acceptum sacrificium coram eo si praedictum[77] imperium

[63] Here M. adds *ritu*.
[64] M. omits *clericos*.
[65] *Prima*, M.
[66] *Dulcediensem*, M.
[67] *Suacinensem*, M.
[68] *Soli*, M.
[69] *Diocesis*, M.
[70] *Polati minoris maioris Polati minoris Sabatensis et Albanensis*, M.
[71] M. omits *iure*, and reads *metropolitano*.
[72] *Poneret*, M., which reads *litteram*, above; *abhominandi*, below.
[73] *Viribus*, M.
[74] Here M. adds *Sclauos*.
[75] *Et Latinis nulli milites et*, M.
[76] *Exibeo et expono*, M.
[77] *Predicta*, M., which below reads *tantumdem*.

atque regnum suae veritati et fidei redderetis quam si tantundem et plus de Sarracenorum dominio subderetis.

Primus libellus cum octo suis[78] *est expletus. Secundus libellus*[79] *incipit, qui cum* [80]*suis quatuor partibus*[80] *finictur.*

Postquam auxiliante Deo primum libellum expediuimus,[81] quo docente per terras [82]fidelium et[82] infidelium Christianorum exercitus Domini salubriter est deductus, ad secundum libellum expediendum breuiter me transduco: qui, sicut dixi superius et promisi, in quatuor residuis partibus concludetur, per quas docebitur quomodo exercitus Domini de terris Christianorum ad terras infidelium, qui nobiscum in nomine Christiano participare refugiunt et crucem odiunt, transferatur. Et quia si caput est sanum,[83] membra reliqua bene valent, ideo primo[84] est circa Regis custodiam insistendum. Dominus enim Rex in tanto negotio habebit cum multarum nationum gentibus conuersari, et se eis [85]affabilem exhibere,[85] consilia petere, sicut diuersi casus veniunt et occurrunt. Et idcirco est cum summa diligentia declarandum[86] quibus possit se et sua secreta committere, et a [P. 63] quibus gentibus sibi debeat praecauere. Praeter igitur Graecos, a quibus esse cauendum supra rationes tetigi euidentes, praeter etiam hoc quod generaliter in orientalibus nationibus vix in his quae homo videt ad oculum est credendum specialiter tamen sex conditiones[87] hominum annotabo[88] a quibus quantum ad quatuor summopere est praecauendum,[89] videlicet in reuelatione secreti, in conuictu concubinii,[90] in familiaritate[91] obsequii, et[92] in commissione cujuscunque[93] negotii in quo posset occasio imminere periculi.[94]

Primo ergo loco pono Armenos, eo quod nec ad fidem catholicam nec ad Romanam Ecclesiam nec etiam ad se ipsos veritatem unquam et fidelitatem integre seruauerunt. Ipsi[95] inter omnes orientales sunt haeretici pessimi, et tam clerus quam populus multis erroribus inuoluti; de quibus quidem erroribus per singula disserere, quia non est praesentis

[78] Here M. adds *partibus.*
[79] Here M. omits *libellus.*
[80] *Iiij suis partibus,* M.
[81] *Expedimuus,* M.
[82] M. omits *fidelium ac,* reading *excercitus, sicud,* as usual, below.
[83] Here M. adds *multorum.*
[84] *Prima,* M.
[85] *Effabilem exibere,* M.
[86] *Declinandum,* M., which reads *comittere, hiis,* below.
[87] *Coridiciones,* M.
[88] *Annotalio,* M.
[89] *Cauendum,* M.
[90] *Contubernii,* M.
[91] *Famuliaritate,* M.
[92] Here M. omits *et.*
[93] *Cocuscunque,* M.
[94] *Pericula,* M.
[95] Here M. adds *omnes.*

operis, praetermitto; licet veraciter dici possit quod non est error in orientali aliqua natione quin ipsi in parte [M. 19 v] non communicent vel in toto. Et quamuis Armeni de minori Armenia tantum, quae quondam Ciliciae dicebatur, quandam unionem fecerint cum Romana Ecclesia et confessionem[96] fidei verbo expresserint et in scriptis, quarum quidem unionis et confessionis ego motor, operator, atque receptor unus extiti de duobus fratribus Praedicatoribus quos Dominus Johannes Papa XXII[97] ad hoc specialiter inter cetera destinauit cum[98] adhuc ille populus destinet[99] in excelsis. Non enim potest mutare Indus[1] varietatem[2] nec Æthiops[3] pellem suam. Lupus etiam, quantumcunque videatur domesticus et appareat mansuetus, et ouina[4] pelle [5]sit desuper[5] contectus, semper tamen existit interius lupus rapax: qui si in siluis non inuenerit[6] quo voracitatem faciat consuetam, ita[7] et non aliter domum reuertitur victus fame. Hoc sic[8] Armeni retinent et obseruant dum potentia Turchorum oppressi vel Sarracenorum, tributis et mansionibus fatigati, ad Romanam Ecclesiam crebro veniunt et recurrunt; quos certe non tantum vinculum amoris et reuerentiae ad hoc attrahit et inducit quantum cogit[9] et impellit. Ad hoc autem clarius ostendendum quandam[10] exempli causam[11] breuiter hic subnectam. Armeni siquidem isti minoris Armeniae, de quibus texitur sermo praesens,[12] coronam et nomen regium a Romanis Pontificibus [P. 64] et Imperatoribus habuerunt. Et tunc in signum subjectionis de pacto et de conuentione quaedam optima castra et forcia[13] Romanae Ecclesiae donauerunt, [14]duas pro Latinis[14] archiepiscopales Ecclesias erexerunt, et eas redditibus et possessionibus dotauerunt, monachorum nostrorum monasteria construxerunt, pueros suos Latinis imbuendos literis tradere promiserunt. Postquam vero adepti sunt regni nomen et gloriam affectatam, manum quam ad aratrum extenderant[15] retraxerunt. Castra enim per ipsos prius data Ecclesiae sunt ablata, monasteria aedificiis et habitatoribus

[96] *Confessione*, M.
[97] *XII*, M.
[98] *Tamen*, M.
[99] *Destinat*, M.
[1] *Pardus*, M.
[2] Here M. adds *suam*.
[3] *Thiops*, M.
[4] *Ouima*, M.
[5] *Desuper sit*, M.
[6] *Inuenitur*, M.
[7] *Tunc*, M.
[8] *Vere*, M.
[9] Here M. adds *necessitas*.
[10] *Quoddam*, M.
[11] *Causa*, M.
[12] *Patris*, M.
[13] *Fortia*, M.
[14] *Dominas per Latinas*, M.
[15] *Extendant*, M.

desolata, bona Tartensis[16] Ecclesiae, quae de praefatis sola et vinea[17] tantum restat, pro [18]maxima parte[18] occupata. Ego cum apud eos essem pro causa superius memorata, in quadam Ecclesia cujusdam monasterii quod fuerat Latinorum, a quo monachi expulsi fuerant et fugati, vidi per eos fieri stabulum jumentorum. Tunc etiam socius meus et ego duo pacta ab eis recepimus et firmata, videlicet quod conuentus Praedicatorum et Minorum ordinum construerent et ibi fratribus moraturis de necessariis prouiderent. Item quod pueros suos instrui facerent Latinis literis ac moribus edoceri.[19] Quae omnia usque hodie perficere neglexerunt. Praedicta qui bene considerat,[20] non sunt signa verae ac fundatae reuerentiae et [21]honoris ac[21] amoris, sed potius odii et rancoris. Transeunt et[22] faciunt cum suis duplicitatibus sua facta. Ipsi etiam tales sunt et tale inter se infidelitatis et discordiae semen habent quod sanguis et gladius usque ad hunc diem ab eorum domibus non recedunt. Ad quod ostendendum unum quod nostris temporibus contigit[23] inducam. Regis Armeniae nouem[24] filii, septem scilicet mares, et duae filiae[25] . . . extiterunt: quorum unus et ultimus, qui nunc ipsum regnum obtinet, pater fuit. Quos omnes, tam mares quam feminas, mors abstulit violenta, excepta una sola femina, quae nunc restat; quae tamen qualem finem faciet ignoratur. Unus enim ex praedictis fratribus alium gladio interemit, alius alium veneno extinxit, alius[26] alium in carcere strangulauit. Et sic omnes usque ad ultimum, qui etiam veneni perniciem non euasit, fuerunt in proprio sanguine fratricidae. Haec[27] autem non descripsi ut[28] propterea omnis eis fauoris beneficium [P. 65] et protectionis auxilium et gratiarum subsidium denegetur. Gaudent enim nomine Christiano quod quidem nomen inter paganos Christi[29] pauci retinent et conseruant. Apud etiam omnes orientales fideles filii Romanae Ecclesiae aestimantur. Sed dico pro tanto ut ab eis circa custodiam et[30] cautelam personae [M. 20 r] regiae teneatur[31] qui tales esse per facta euidentia veraciter denotantur.

Septimo[32] loco pono Gasinulos. Et vocantur Gasinuli qui ex patre

[16] *Carcensis*, M., apparently.
[17] *Vnica*, M., as P. corrects in margin.
[18] *Parte maxima*, M.
[19] *Ac doceri*, M.
[20] *Considerant*, M.
[21] M. omits *honoris ac*.
[22] M. omits *et* here.
[23] Here M. adds *hic*.
[24] *Nomen*, M.
[25] Here M. adds *femine*, reading of course *optinet* below.
[26] Here M. omits *alius*.
[27] *Hoc*, M.
[28] *Quod*, M.
[29] *Ipsi*, M.
[30] *Bonam*, M.
[31] *Caueatur*, M.
[32] *Secundo*, M.

Graeco et matre Latina vel ex patre Latino et matre Graeca fuerunt[33] generati. Hi in fide instabiles,[34] in promisso fallaces, in verbo mendaces, astuti in malo, ignorantes in bono, proterui ad superiores, proni ad seditiones,[35] habituati ad praedationes, ad crudelitates prompti, ad pietates duri, ad caedes [36]et mortes[36] auidi, in omnibus inquieti, bibuli et[37] ebriosi, sine fraeno incontinentes, gulae ac ventri cum intemperantia seruientes, nisi se ipsos[38] aut propter se ipsos penitus nil amantes,[39] Graecos se ostendunt cum Graecis, et Latinos se exhibent cum Latinis, omnibus omnia facti, non cum Apostolo ut lucri faciant, sed ut perdant. Tertio loco nomino Surianos. Et dicuntur Suriani qui de Suria hoc est de terra sancta et circa originem habuerunt. Isti quia nec pro libertate[40] pugnare nec patriam defendere potuerunt, de patria sua pulsi in diuersa, instabiles et proprias sedes[41] non habentes, vagi et profugi peruagantur: qui quanto magis sunt inopes et penitus nil habentes, tanto facilius promissis et[42] muneribus a fidelitate abducuntur[43] et ad varia pertrahuntur secundum quod occurrunt aliquando casus multiplices et fortunae. Quanto enim diutius[44] fuerunt cum diuersis nationibus orientalibus conuersati, tanto expressius atque tenacius malitias atque versutias plurium didicerunt.[45] Sed et si qui ex eis sunt diuites et[46] potentes, adhuc corde insatiabiles et affectu, diuitias sibi augeri et accumulari[47] cupiunt et honores. Quibus si non prouenerit[48] hoc quod optant, foederis omnis immemores festinant fidem atque fidelitatem frangere et a[49] juramentis atque promissionibus resilire. Ad hoc [50]usque tamen rancorem[50] occultant, dolum et dolorem dissimulando celant et per falsos applausus conceptum[51] malignandi donec, quod[52] exoptant, occurrat aduersarius ex objecto ad quem valeant transuolare, et in adjutorium manum dare, vires augere, et contra veros suos[53] aut amicos conceptam iniquitatem proditoriam parturire. Quilibet ergo caueat et attendat ne

[33] *Fuerint*, M.
[34] *Stabiles*, M.
[35] *Seductiones*, M.
[36] *Parati ad mortem*, M.
[37] M. omits *et* here.
[38] *Ipsis*, M.
[39] *Amant*, M., which reads *exibent*, below.
[40] *Vbertate*, M.
[41] *Sedes proprias*, M.
[42] Here M. adds *ex*.
[43] *Obducuntur*, M.
[44] M. omits *diutius*.
[45] *Didiscerunt*, M.
[46] *Aut*, M.
[47] *Accunulari*, M.
[48] *Prouenit*, M., which reads *inmemores aplausus*, below.
[49] M. omits *a* here.
[50] *Tamen usque ratorem*, M.
[51] Here M. adds *operiunt*.
[52] *Quam*, M.
[53] Here M. adds *dominos*.

istorum versuta nequitia,[54] subdola, et falsa,[55] exquisita sub [P. 66] bonitatis specie, sub mellis dulcedine virus eiciat, fel effundat, quibus [56]incautum decipiat[56] et obruant improuisum.

Quarto loco de Murtatis[57] est conditio describenda. Et dicuntur Murtati[57] qui de Turchorum ex uno parentum, ex altero vero de Graecorum progenie descenderunt. Hi tanto pejores esse ab initio suorum natalium comprobantur quanto[58] nequius ex copula duorum malorum sanguinum, Graecorum videlicet ac Turchorum, originem habuerunt; ut ex uno Sathan, [59]ex altero vero[59] diaboli dici possint.[60] Hi licet Christiani dicantur et sint, tamen a cultu et opere Christiano sunt plurimum alieni, dum armorum exercitio dediti qualicunque, nam nullam ut plurimum aliam artem[61] habent, intendunt assidue vitiis et peccatis quibus consueuit illud genus hominum implicari, ad nullum armorum exercitium[62] sunt idonei reputandi quod requirat bellatorem fidelem strenuum, et constantem, nisi ad furta, praedas, incendia, et rapinas. Quod quia semper faciunt et exercent, semper istis inuigilant et intendunt. Idcirco sciunt ea[63] cautius texere et subtilius ordinare quam quicunque alius cogitare. Continuum[64] enim eorum in istis studium et conamen in summo culmine magisterii eos ponit.

Quinto loco baptizati neophyti describuntur. Baptizati[65] autem [M. 20 v] nominantur illi qui de Turchis vel Sarracenis Christianam fidem suscipiunt et baptismum. Hi quanto magis sunt a Christianorum sanguine separati, quanto[66] magis sunt[67] Turchorum seu Sarracenorum nephandis moribus educati, quibus [68]ad Christianorum caedem,[68] ad innocentium necem, ad Ecclesiarum incendia, ad sacrorum spolia, ad nominis Christi detestationem, ad crucis execrationem, ad odium fidei, ad reprobationem baptismi, ad deletionem[69] gentis et generis Christiani a suis prauis instructoribus, sceleratis parentibus eorum viperina soboles, serpentina progenies erudita extitit et imbuta, tanto[70] est in eis de promissis credendum, de fidelitate sperandum atque de constantia bonitate[71] aliqua praesumendum. Tales sunt quod vix aut nunquam inueni

[54] Here M. adds *innata malicia Amicicia.*
[55] *Fallacia,* M.
[56] *Tantum decipiant et deiciant,* M.
[57] *Murcatis . . . Murcati,* M., apparently.
[58] *Quando,* M.
[59] *Et ex altero,* M.
[60] *Possunt,* M., which reads *hii, excercicio,* below.
[61] M. omits *artem.*
[62] *Excercium,* M.
[63] *Eas,* M.
[64] *Conciuum,* M.
[65] *Raptici,* M.
[66] *Tanto,* M.
[67] Here M. adds *a.*
[68] *A Christianorum cede in,* M.
[69] *Delectationem,* M.
[70] Here M. adds *minus.*
[71] Here M. adds *virtute aut bonitate.*

qui de ipsis baptismum susceperit ut aliquid optimum in eo omne[72] crediderit, aut fidem Christi reputauerit meliorem, seu legem nostram aestimauerit puriorem. Sed ideo suscepi[73] quia vilem [74]suam conditionem[74] intendunt meliorem aut directam[75] fortunam mutare, vel onerosam refugere paupertatem, aut serui prius atque captiui desiderant libertatem, vel certe quia propter sua importabilia vitia aut perpetrata flagitia habitare nequeunt[76] inter suos. Tales sunt quod vix [P. 67] est qui baptismum seruauerit aut in fide perstiterit nisi [77]quandiu opportunitas[77] illi defuit a [78]Christianitate vel[78] ad vomitum redeundi. Per quod quidem apostasiae[79] genus et sacrilegii modum apud suos cujuscunque delictionis,[80] transgressionis, offensionis, atque[81] flagitii remissio obtinetur, et insuper eis acquiritur laus et honor quod legi [82]inter tale negationis opprobrium[82] intulerunt. Tales igitur[83] sunt quod lectis et auditis falsitatibus per eos varie ordinatis et[84] dominorum suorum proditiosis mortibus perpetratis, eorum peruersitatem et morum ac operum tortuositatem nec penna scribere nec lingua sufficit enarrare.

Quantum autem ad illa quatuor quae supra posui, in quibus a praefatis quinque generibus hominum attendendum esse moneo et cauendum, non[85] intelligo quod quantum ad alia exteriora et[86] communia judicem eis regiae pietatis gremium restringendum et munificae largitatis beneficium denegandum. Exercitui namque quantum ad multa alia perutiles esse possunt. Sciunt enim multi ex ipsis patriam, itinera recta et praua, passus dubios et securos, aquas publicas, et occultas insidias contra hostes subtiliter ordinare, et ipsorum contra nostros[87] detegere, mansiones hostium explorare, praedas astute[88] inquirere, capere, et caute[89] deducere, exploratores aduersariorum cognoscere, circumuenire, apprehendere, et ab eis intentiones, dispositiones, et consilia hostium extorquere. Saepius in hostium habitum se transmutant, et inter eos incogniti conuersantur. Et sic quae didicerunt et viderunt eorum abscondita referunt et secreta. Aliquando ad loca eminentia et pro-

[72] *Esse*, M.; P. corrects in margin to *homine*.
[73] *Suscepit*, M.; P. corrects in margin to *suscipiunt*.
[74] *Condicionem suam*, M.
[75] *Deiectam*, M.
[76] *Nequieverunt*, M.
[77] *Quamdiu oportunitas*, M.
[78] *Christianitatis itinere recedendi et*, M.
[79] *Impostasie*, M.
[80] *Delectacionis*, M.
[81] *At*, M.
[82] *Nostre tale negociacionis obprobium*, M.
[83] *Iterum*, M.
[84] Here M. omits *et*.
[85] Here M. adds *ita*.
[86] *Atque*, M.
[87] *Ipsos*, M.
[88] *Astricte*, M.
[89] *Ante*, M.

pinqua hostium castris se ingerunt;[90] ubi habent[91] coelum pro tecto, pro delicatis cibariis panem durum, pro vinis variis aquam claram, atque pro lectis mollibus duras petras; ubi et nocte rigescunt frigore, die vero caloribus exuruntur. Sic perseuerant in iis et perdurant donec in castris hostium viderint quid disponant, quid agant, quid ordinent, quid intendant. De quibus omnibus, quia res est periculi, cum maturitate et cautela debita est credendum.

Sexto loco execrandos et fugiendos nomine[92] Assasinos; qui se ipsos venales faciunt, sanguinem [93]hominis sitiunt,[93] pretio innocentem perimunt, salutem et vitam hominis paruipendunt. Qui, sicut diabolus se in lucis angelum transfigurans,[94] dum gestus, habitus,[95] [M. 21 r] mores, et actus diuersarum nationum et gentium, personarum etiam particularium imitantur, et sic sub ouina pelle celati ante mortem ingerunt quam noscantur.

[P. 68] Quia vero istos non vidi, sed de ipsis haec fama vel scriptura veridica[96] teste noui, aperire non valeo ampliora nec dare notitiam pleniorem. Si enim per mores vel per signa quaecunque eos denuntiem cognoscendos, in iis mihi[97] et aliis sunt ignoti. Si per nomen ipsorum notitiam posse judicem apprehendi, tam execrabilis est eorum professio et tam abominabilis uniuersis quod ipsum nomen pro posse gestiui[98] occultare. Hoc unum solum remedium esse scio, quod Regis custodia et tutela, quod in domo tota regia pro quocunque seruitio, quocunque[99] modico aut momentaneo siue vili nullus penitus admittatur nisi cujus patria, locus, genus, conditio, et persona certa plene et liquide sint[1] nota.

Explicit prima et nona pars. Secunda et decima pars ostendit [2]*transitum maris*[2] *breuem, quinque continens rationes.*

Descriptis[3] conditionibus hominum malignorum, a quorum oportet Regem[4] fallaciis praecauere, nunc in secunda et decima parte describendus est ille transitus maris breuis, quo expleto exercitus Domini transire usque in Israel[5] mare aliud non habebit, sicut non habent[6] a Francia usque ibi. Capta siquidem Constantinopoli, transitus hic patet

[90] *Iunxerunt*, M.
[91] *Habuit*, M., which reads *cibariis delicatis, claram aquam*, below.
[92] *Nomino*, M.
[93] *Hominum sciciunt*, M.
[94] *Transfugurans*, M.
[95] Here M. adds *linguas*.
[96] *Mendica*, M.
[97] *Tamen*, M.
[98] *Gestiunt*, M., which reads *abhominabilis*, above.
[99] *Quantumcunque*, M.
[1] *Sunt et*, M.
[2] *Maris transicio*, M.
[3] *Distinctis*, M.
[4] Here M. adds *pari*.
[5] *Ierusalem*, M.
[6] *Habuit*, M.

ante [7]oculos ex aduerso,[7] breuis, facilis, et[8] utilis, et securus. Qui quidem transitus est unum brachium maris strictum a[9] mari Pontico ad mare mediterraneum diriuatum[10] et diuersis nominibus nuncupatum.

In aliquibus enim libris dicitur[11] Hellespontus, in aliis vero Bosphorus,[12] in aliis autem brachium sancti Georgii nominatur. Ad ostendendum autem quod in hoc loco sit magis congruum et expediens atque necessarium Sarracenos inuadere crucis hostes quam in quacunque[13] alia parte mundi quinque explico rationes.

Prima ratio est propter ipsius transitus breuitatem; per quod quidem soluetur[14] quod supra promissum est, talia scilicet itinera demonstrare et per talem viam exercitum deducere procedentem ubi parum vel nihil de maris transitu remaneret; ubi propter conseruationem equorum, propter quietem personarum, propter etiam utilitates et commoditates[15] assequendas, maris molestias, grauamina, atque dispendia varia, et incommoda multa . . .[16] non habet exercitus sustinere. Iste est ille transitus sic facilis et sic breuis quod ex litore uno ad aliud potest vox unius hominis percipi et audiri. In hoc statu[17] posset taliter ordinari quod ab una parte ad aliam transiret[18] totus exercitus super pontem, licet istud [P. 69] necessitas non exposcat. Sine hoc enim erit transitus facilis atque breuis liber.

Secunda ratio est, quia ibi inuadi[19] possunt Sarraceni cum minori nostrorum periculo et cum majori facilitate et commodo quam in aliqua parte in qua hostes fidei dominentur. Quod quidem [20]breuiter ostenditur[20] triplici ratione. Prima est, quia ibi statim ut ad terram aduersariorum descenditur occurrit aspectu[21] campus latus, ubi non sunt fortalicia,[22] non nemora, non valles, non latibula, non fossata, in quibus possint hostium insidiae occultari.

Secunda ratio,[23] quia cum exercitus ad terras inimicorum transierit, si bellum ingruerit ex aduerso, statim sani refocillati, validi atque fortes nostri exponi poterunt bellatores cum equis potentibus atque velocibus et ab omnibus laboribus recreatis. Tertia ratio est, quia exercitus

[7] *Oculo ex auerso*, M.
[8] Here M. omits *et*.
[9] *Ex*, M.
[10] *Deriuatum*, M.
[11] M. omits *dicitur*.
[12] *Bosforus*, M.
[13] *Quaque*, M.
[14] *Saluetur*, M.
[15] Here M. adds *plurimas*.
[16] Here M. supplies *minis*.
[17] *Strictu*, M.
[18] *Transirret*, M.
[19] *Iuandi* or *inandi*, M., which reads *comodo* below.
[20] *Ostenditur breuiter*, M.
[21] *Aspectui*, M.
[22] *Fontilia*, M.
[23] Here M. adds *est*.

habebit Constantinopolim de propinquo cum tota sua maritima[24] regione. Unde subsequentur de facilitibus[25] recens et breuiter omnia quae fuerint opportuna. Ista tria commoda in aliqua parte quantum [26]mundus gerat[26] quem Sarraceni detinent occupatum simul concurrere posse non judicabit nisi qui fuerit inexpertus, [M. 21 v] cui minime in sua sententia est credendum. Quae quidem commoda[27] sunt exercitui plurimum appetenda, ubi et quando fuerit cum hoste valido confligendum. Nam contraria iis [28]plurimos exercitus[28] in magnam ruinam et perniciem deduxerunt. Nec praesumendum quin hostes totam armatis in fortitudine[29] operiant regionem ubi sciuerint[30] Dei exercitum declinare, ut in ipso principio resistant totis viribus et conatu. Ubi per consequens accedendum est et cum sollicitudine prouidendum ne aliquid [31]contra haec et contra[31] alia possit occurrere improuisum. Cum prouidentia namque nil occursus nocere poterit malignantium. Tertia ratio est, quia si bene consideretur et diligentius attendatur, a strictu [32]Jubaltariae, quando[32] per maris litora Africae et Aegypti et ultra procedendo per Suriam et Asiam[33] usque Constantinopolim veniendo, non est locus aliquis terrae hostium contiguus vel propinquus in quo post maris labores possit exercitus recreari antequam ad praelium exponatur, nec est portus aliquis ad quem possit tute noster exercitus cum nauili recipi nec etiam declinare qui non per Sarracenos hostes fidei teneatur.[34] Sed si quis opponeret contra illa quae [P. 70] ponuntur in praefata secunda et tertia ratione, quod scilicet Armenia[35] minor videatur esse sufficiens ad praedicta, ad hoc per quemcunque expertum faciliter respondetur. Ista enim Armenia pro tanto exercitu victualibus non abundat, imo frequenter non sufficit pro se ipsa. Item portum penitus nullum habet nisi portum qui Palorum dicitur in quodam deserto loco et ab omni habitatione penitus elongato, qui etiam propter sui paruitatem et strictam capacitatem portus non est pro tanto exercitu appellandus. Item quando illud[36] exercitus declinasset, quo ulterius versus terram Soldano subjectam procedere[37] non haberet, sed oporteret **eum** retrocedere versus Turquiam, per quam moneo procedendum, ut circumgirando per medios hostes Turchos per locum alium versus terram sanctam inueniret [38]et faceret sibi viam.

[24] *Maritana*, M.
[25] *Facili tribus*, M., which below reads *oportuna, comoda*.
[26] *Gerat mundus*, M.
[27] *Commota*, M.
[28] *Excercitus plurimos*, M.
[29] Here M. adds *sua*.
[30] *Sciunt*, M.
[31] *Circa . . . circa*, M.
[32] *In baltarie girando*, M., which reads *Affrice*, below.
[33] Here M. adds *et*.
[34] *Teneantur*, M.
[35] Here M. adds *pro tanto exercitu*, reading *habundat*, below.
[36] *Illuc*, M.
[37] *Procedent*, M.

Passus enim montanae[38] nigrae, quos de Armenia in terra hostium haberet necessario permeare, sunt difficiles et[39] stricti, qui et[40] a Sarracenis Soldani hodie possidentur. Item nunquam legi nec audiui per aliquem expertum fieri mentionem quod ad partes praedictae Armeniae passagium in suo principio debeat applicare.

Quarta ratio est, quia caput hostis est primitus conterendum. Quis enim de dracone reputat se victorem nisi prius [41]praeciderit caput[41] ejus? Ponere namque se in mediis hostibus importat magnum periculum et discrimen. Quod quidem contingeret, si alibi et alicui primo vellet quis Sarracenicum [42]inuadere hostem[42] quam ut dico. Cujus exempli causam induco qui enim in subsidium terrae sanctae sua itinera dirigebant, quando[43] et Tripolis et tota illa maritima[44] regio a Christi fidelibus tenebatur,[45] se in medium hostium committebant[46] habentes contra Soldanum gerere bellum unum et aliud contra Turchos. Et haec veraciter causa erat quare Reges Franciae et Angliae et alii fortes principes et potentes qui ad loca illa hostes aggredi attentabant frustrati a spe et opere remanebant.[47] Qui vero obiceret quod per haec quae dicunt,[48] (Nam[49] contra Soldani potentiam confringendam esset prius, et fortius insistendum, qui magis quam Turchi Sarracenorum caput esse creditur et probatur) ad hoc respondeo per quintam quae sequitur rationem.

Quinta[50] ratio ostendit quod melius, facilius, et utilius est Turchos [M. 22 r] prius [P. 71] conterere quam[51] Soldanum. Et hoc[52] per tria media sic ostendo. Primum medium est, quia Turchi possunt Soldano adjutorium exhibere, Soldanus vero Turchis nullum subsidium dare potest. Si enim Soldanus vellet gentes in Turchorum adjutorium destinare, [53]oporteret eas[53] fines Imperatoris Persidis pertransire. Cum autem [54]iste Imperator[54] Soldani hostis et aemulus perseueret, non permitteret sibi suspectum exercitum ingredi fines suos, nec etiam Soldanus committeret in potestate sui aemuli gentem suam. Turchos vero Imperator idem, cum non sint sui aemuli neque hostes, imo sibi seruiunt sub tributo, [55]illi scilicet qui sunt magis propinqui Soldano, et qui pos-

[38] M. omits these seven words after *inueniret* and before *nigre*.
[39] *Atque*, M.
[40] M. omits *et* here.
[41] *Prescinderet capud*, M.
[42] *Hostem inuadere*, M.
[43] Here M. adds *Accon*.
[44] *Maritina*, M.
[45] *Tenebantur*, M.
[46] *Comittebant*, M., which reads *fiortes*, below.
[47] Here M. adds *et si quid de terris illis ceperant non poterat perdurare quia capita hostilia integra permanebant*.
[48] *Dicuntur*, M.
[49] M. omits *nam* here, and reads *forcius* below.
[50] *Vinta*, M., which leaves blank space for (illuminated) *Q*.
[51] M. omits *quam* here.
[52] *Hec*, M.
[53] *Oportet*, M., omitting *eas*.
[54] *Imperator iste*, M.

sunt ei subsidium exhibere, pro quocunque arma sumerent, nullatenus impediret, nisi forte sui jura imperii molestarent. Et si quis forte opponeret quod ex quo Turchi Imperatori Tartarorum Persidis seruiunt sub tributo,[55] videretur quod Tartari deberent ipsos Turchos tanquam suos contra nostros defendere et tueri, et sic noster exercitus grauaretur, si contra[56] tantam multitudinem bellum gerere [57]oporteret,[57] non esse sine[58] periculo et difficultate atque impedimento hujus itineris videretur, taliter respondetur ad hoc. Sicut ex [59]praemissis habetur[59] inter Imperatorem Persidis et Soldanum [60]sunt semper[60] odia et inimicitiae capitales. [61]Itaque unus[61] alterum nititur destruere et confundere toto posse. Causa hujus est haec. Quando Tartari terras Chaldaeae atque Persidis inuaserunt, tunc in Baldaco[62] erat Calipha cui omnes Sarraceni de mundo suo modo talem reuerentiam exhibebant sicut per Christianos fideles summo Pontifici exhibetur. Et hic erat Soldanus pariter[63] et Calipha; quem Tartari, capta tota Chaldaea et Baldaco[62] ejus metropoli, occiderunt, ita quod ex tunc Calipha alius non surrexit.[64] Non enim potest esse Calipha qui non in Baldaco[65] faciat residentiam personalem.[66] Quicquid mali potest[67] Tartarus [68]contra Soldanum et Soldanus contra Tartarum machinatur. Si igitur Tartarus[68] sciret quod nostri[69] contra Soldanum procederent hostem suum, non dico quod [70]impediret in aliquo,[70] sed assero quod potius adjuuaret.[71] Jam enim dudum Casan Imperator Persidis audiens quod nostri passagium ordinarent, in nostrum seruitium et fauorem Soldanum in bello deuicit, et de suis plus quam quadraginta milia interfecit, ipsum fugere compulit, terras ejus bene per decem dietas inuasit, Damascum ciuitatem validam et [P. 72] totam illam prouinciam occupauit et multis diuitiis spoliauit, et ita diminuit vires[72] ejus quod si nostri ex parte nostra occurrissent, procul dubio terram sanctam et Ægyptum de facili occupassent. Iterum quando sanctus Ludouicus transiuit[73] ultra mare, statim in Cypro occurrerunt ei nuntii Tartarorum, non quae impedimenti sed quae amoris erant

[55] All this, from *illi scilicet* to *seruiunt sub tributo*, is omitted by M.
[56] M. omits *contra*.
[57] *Oportet quod*, M.
[58] M. repeats *sine*.
[59] *Promissis*, M., omitting *habetur*.
[60] *Semper sunt*, M.
[61] *Ita quod unus ad*, M., reading *Chaldeę*, below.
[62] *Baldato*, apparently, M.
[63] M. omits *pariter*.
[64] *Insurrexit*, M.
[65] *Baldano*, M.
[66] Here M. adds *quod quiddem Tartari non permittunt et idcirco*.
[67] Here M. adds *igitur*.
[68] M. omits these ten words, from *contra* to *Tartarus*.
[69] *Nil*, M.
[70] *In aliquo impediret*, M.
[71] *Adiuuarent*, M.
[72] *Viras*, M., which reads *Egiptum, Cipro*, below.
[73] *Transiit*, M.

potius offerentes, licet tunc temporis major eos quam nunc feritas occuparet. Nec dubium apud aliquem qui conditiones illorum nouit[74] Tartarorum quin statim[75] nostrum exercitum in Constantinopolim sciuerint aduenisse pacis et amicitiae atque confoederationis solemnes nuntios suos mittant. Esto etiam quod ipsi se disponerent ad obstandum, adhuc propter eos non est propositum nostri itineris dimittendum. Nam cum infidelibus de guerra sperandum et cogitandum est potius quam de pace, cum in hoc negotio nullus patriam propriam propter pacem deserat acquirendam. Deus enim ita[76] illos conteret, sic[77] istos et istos ita destruet sicut illos. Nec est de ipsis aliquid virtutis aut fortitudinis aestimandum. Non enim sunt illi Tartari qui fuerunt Sarracenati namque sunt, et ad mollitiem,[78] lubricitatem, et ad alia Sarracenorum vitia sunt dediti et intenti; et sic effeminati effecti usum et probitatem armorum solitam perdiderunt. Secundum medium est, quia posito quod Soldanus Turchis auxilium dare posset, ita est ejus exercitus virtute et [M. 22 v] viribus vacuatus propter otium et luxus carnis ac delectationes viles assiduas quibus vacant[79] contra rationis ordinem et naturae, quod Turchis et quibusque[80] aliis magis afferrent[81] impedimentum et taedium quam juuamen. Tertium est exemplum quod in facto simili legimus et habemus. Quia enim Petrus Heremita cum suo passagio quem ducebat per locum transiens[82] quem designo, et viam illam faciens quam moneo faciendam, ut[83] jam superius est expressum, vires Turchorum primitus conquassauit, ideo progressum habuit tam prosperum, tam felicem quod in breuissimo tempore fere totum orientem[84] acquisiuit, ita quod nunquam fuit passagium in acquisitione tam utile et in [85]victoriis atque triumphis tam solemne.[85]

Explicit secunda et decima pars. Tertia et undecima[86] *pars ostendit loca et regiones unde ab omni parte exercitui*[87] *victualia habebuntur.*

[P. 73] Ad praedicta accedit haec tertia et undecima pars, quae erit loca describere nominatim de quibus victualia haberi poterunt copiose, ita quod si unus[88] deficeret, alius abundabit. Circa quod sciendum quod

[74] *Nouerit*, M.
[75] Here M. adds *cum*.
[76] *Recta*, M.
[77] *Sicut*, M.
[78] *Mollicie*, M.
[79] *Vacat*, M.
[80] *Quibuscunque*, M.
[81] *Afferent*, M.
[82] *Tracie*, M.
[83] *Et*, M.
[84] *Oriens*, M.
[85] *Triumphis atque victoriis tam solempne*, M.
[86] *IX*, M.
[87] *Pro exercitu*, M.
[88] *Locus*, M. adds here, reading *dampno, Asya, Grecis, Ierusalem*, as usual, below.

regio illa ad quam primo jam moneo transeundum, licet modo Turchia vulgariter nuncupetur eo quod per Turchos hostiliter nunc tenetur cum damno et dedecore nominis Christiani, tamen in sacra pagina Asia nuncupatur,[89] ubi septem Ecclesiae denotantur a[90] quibus Apocalypsim[91] Johannes Euangelista et Apostolus destinauit. Ista regio a Graecis Anatolia[92] id est oriens appellatur, eo quod homo in Hierusalem a Constantinopoli procedendo semper ante se respiciat et habeat orientem. Ista regio est quasi [93]lingua[93] terrae mari a tribus partibus circumsepta. A dextris namque, id est, a meridie, habet mare Ægaeum; a sinistris vero, id est, ab aquilone, tenet mare Ponticum; a tergo autem, id est, ab occidente, scilicet versus Constantinopolim, mare deserit Hellespontum. Quae quidem regio quanto magis habet circa se loca et regiones maritimas[94] atque portus, tanto minus in necessariis posse deficere comprobatur. Omnis enim ciuitas siue locus qui supra mare cum portu congruo obtinet situm suum non potest communiter in necessariis habere penuriam nec defectum. Quomodo ergo ipsa Turchia siue Asia contra se ad praedictas tres partes, scilicet occidentem, meridiem, et aquilonem, regiones et loca[95] et portus accomodos[96] in quibus possunt[97] recipi vasa quaecunque ipsa victualia deportantes lucide et breuiter declaratur. Ab occidente igitur ex prouincia quae Thracia[98] nominatur veniet frumentum pro hominibus et [99]hordeum pro equis de Rodostro[99] castro, ad quod fere totum bludum[1] de Thracia[98] congregatur[2] incredibili quantitate, vinum autem de Gano et de [3]Polistre in abundantia[3] competenti. Ex prouincia etiam [4]Macedonia versus similiter occidentem[4] veniet frumentum et hordeum et legumina copiose, de Thessalonica, de Mamistro, et de Quisso, et de tota illius magnae circumadjacentia[5] regionis. De Marronia vero et de Aspriosa[6] similiter Macedoniae regionis vinum copiose, portabunt[7] optimum et electum. A dextris autem,[8] id est, a meridie, habemus por-

[89] *Nominatur*, M.
[90] M. omits *a*.
[91] *Apocolipsim*, M.
[92] *Anatholi*, M.
[93] *Quedam linga*, M.
[94] *Marinas*, M.
[95] Here M. adds *contineat optima ex quibus per mare valeant exercitui victualia prouenire quomodo etiam in se habeat.*
[96] *Comotos*, M.
[97] *Posunt*, M.
[98] *Tracia*, M.
[99] *Pro equis ordeum de Rodosto*, M.
[1] *Baldum*, M.
[2] Here M. adds *in*.
[3] *Pelistre in habundantia in habundantia*, M.
[4] *Macedonie versimiliter similiter occidente*, M., which of course reads *ordeum, habundanter*, below.
[5] *Circumiacentia*, M.
[6] *Aspirosa*, M.
[7] *Portabitur*, M.
[8] *Veniunt*, M.

tum et castrum Bondouiciae, per quem[9] blada omnis generis ex regione Blaquiae habebimus[10] abundanter. Habemus ad eandem partem ducatum Athenarum. Habemus etiam[11] Nigropontem. Quae quidem loca vinum, legumina, oleum, et caseos [P. 74] ministrabunt. A sinistris insuper, id est, ab aquilone, per totum mare Ponticum in regionibus Bulgariae, Gazariae, Richiae,[12] Anogasiae, et in mari de Caua[13] tot sunt loca et portus unde portantur[14] frumentum, carnes salsae, mel, cera,[15] pisces salsi, legumina, hordeum, et auena, non in mediocri sed excessiua etiam quantitate quod, ne verba protrahere videar et taedium inferam audienti, nominare per singula praetermitto. Si autem quis sollicitus sit de portubus ad quos naues haec victualia deferentes valeant applicare, breuiter satisfacio inqui[M. 23 r]renti, quod ad plagam meridionalem Asiae de qua loquor fere quot sunt miliaria, tot sunt portus boni, capaces, profundi modo debito et tranquilli.[16] Sunt etiam circa istam partem habitatae[17] insulae multa valde quae[18] habent in se vel faciunt de se portum. Poterunt etiam et debebunt galeae et naues portus eligere et mutare in tali conuenientia atque modo ut sicut terrestris exercitus mouebit sua castra inantia[19] et procedet, sic[20] pariter et propinque marinus exercitus subsequatur, ut sic terrestris exercitus possit de omnibus recentari.[21] De carnibus recentibus mentionem facere superfluum judicaui, cum Turquia[22] siue Asia in carnibus, vino, oleo, bladis, leguminibus, et omnibus aliis bonis terrae sic[23] ita egregia, fertilis, et abundans quod vere videbitur intuenti quod non in terra alia sit Ægyptus nec alia paradisus. Nec puto [24]quod exercitus indigeat[24] victualibus aliunde. In quo[25] abundans cautela et prouisio non nocebunt.[26]

Explicit tertia et undecima pars. [27]*Et duodecima pars sex continet rationes quod de hostibus fidei triumphum habendi faciliter sit sperandum.*

Quartam et duodeciman et finem pariter hujus directorii ordo praecipit expedire. Et erit de spe certa faciliter de Turchis et aliis fidei et

[9] *Quam*, apparently, M.
[10] *Habemus*, M.
[11] *Et*, M.
[12] *Bithic*, M.
[13] *Tana*, M.
[14] *Portatur*, M.
[15] *Sera*, M.
[16] *Transquilli*, M.
[17] Here M. adds *et non habitate*.
[18] Here M. adds *vel*.
[19] *In antea*, M.
[20] *Si*, M.
[21] *Retentari*, M.
[22] *Tarquina*, M., which of course has *Asya, habundans*, below.
[23] *Si*, M.
[24] *Exercitus quod indigeat*, M.
[25] *Nisi quod*, M.
[26] *Nocebit*, M.
[27] Here M. adds *quarta*.

crucis hostibus triumphandi. Ad quod declarandum[28] sex infero rationes.

Prima ratio est, quia eorum malitia est completa. Tantum enim durauit[29] eorum infida[30] peruersitas et in malitiis et peccatis perseuerans iniquitas quod clamorem opere compleuerunt. Constat etiam quod si bene gesserimus[31] et rectam in hoc opere tenuerimus voluntatem, Dominus est nobiscum. Et si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? Si enim consistant aduersum nos castra, si exurgat aduersum [P. 75] nos praelium, nihil timendum, in Domino est sperandum, qui est illuminatio mentis nostrae et[32] protector assiduus vitae nostrae. Non est enim fortitudo, non est consilium, non est prudentia contra ipsum. Nunquam legi in aliqua historia veteris testamenti quod nisi propter peccatum Deus [33]tradiderit populum suum[33] gladio inimici. Legi tamen aliquos peccatores de hostibus blasphemantibus nomen Dei magnas victorias reportasse. In omnibus historiis ultramarinis[34] nunquam recolo me legisse quod nostri per hostes fuerint debellati, siue bellum cum multis gererent vel cum paucis, nisi aut propter peccata quae in ipsis regnabant, vel propter proditiones quas inuicem committebant, seu propter discordias quas habebant, aut certe quia illam cum qua bellum initur dispositionem debitam negligebant.

Secunda ratio est, quia Turchi in se ipsos multipliciter sunt diuisi, et unus alium persequitur, spoliat, et occidit. Et fere tot sunt principes quot sunt villae, et tot sunt reguli quot sunt urbes. Cum autem ipsi in tot contraria et diuisa[35] dominia sint diuisi, certe ipsorum potius futura desolatio est credenda quam nostra victoria non speranda. Omne enim regnum in se ipsum diuisum praedixit Dominus desolandum.[36]

Tertia ratio est quae elicitur ex praemissa. Ideo enim[37] inter se, ut praemittitur, sunt diuisi, quia eorum capita, qui bella nouerant, se [38]mutuis seditionibus occiderunt,[38] aut serui proprios dominos mactauerunt,[39] et in locum[40] eorum qui plus de potentia habere poterant surrexerunt, atque in hujusmodi[41] contrarietate et alteratione dominii continue persistentes de probiori[42] militia quam haberent contigerunt strages variae et contingunt. Et sic consequenter sunt unione, numero, ac viribus[43] diminuti.

[28] *Demonstrandum*, M.
[29] *Ducauit*, M.
[30] *Imperfida*, M.
[31] *Gessimus*, M., which reads *nichil, numquam*, below.
[32] *Qui est*, M.
[33] *Populum suum tradidit*, M.
[34] *Ultramarniis*, M.
[35] *Diuersa*, M.
[36] *Desolabitur*, M.
[37] *Namque*, M.
[38] *Mututus cedibus mactauerunt*, M.
[39] *Occiderunt*, M.
[40] *Locis*, M.
[41] Here M. adds *in*.
[42] *Probrorum*, M.
[43] *Veribus*, M.

Quarta ratio[44] est quod quia propter causam praefatam[45] de se ipsis militiam non habebant, de suis[46] empticiis et captiuis conati sunt ipsam militiam reparare. Graecos igitur empticios vel captiuos, quos variis modis ad suam perfidiam pertraxerunt, libertati dederunt, et eis in uxores suas filias tradiderunt. Praeterea quia ipsi Turchi raro consueuerunt se [M. 23 v] in villis includere[47] ad manendum, sed omni tempore habitant sub tentoriis in campestri, ideo praedictis libertinis,[48] licet sint ad perfidiam Sarracenicam,[49] ut praemittitur, deprauati, non tamen possunt [P. 76] donum[50] Christianitatis et fidem atque baptismi gratiam, quae ante susceperant, penitus obliuisci, ideo constat mihi et[51] per eosdem quod si haberent aliquem nobilem et potentem qui eos per citam[52] victoriam [53]liberaret cui possent[53] tanquam columnae firmissimae adhaerere, et contra iniquos ipsum valerent scutum opponere defensiuum, essent parati fortalicia tradere et suae captiuitatis injuriam et infidelitatis ignominiam in dominorum[54] suorum sanguine vindicare. Quinta ratio est, quia ipsi Turchi bellandi modum et industriam nullam[55] habent, probitate et audacia carent, non habent arma defensiua seu etiam offensiua nisi tantum arcus, pharetras,[56] et sagittas, loricas quasdam[57] quae proprius dici possunt caraciae,[58] quam loricae, quae non bellis virorum sed magis ludis conueniunt puerorum. Equos habent multos. Nam fere omnes equitant, etiam rustici et pastores. Sed ipsi equi debiles sunt et parui, ita quod non possunt super se aliqua[59] arma defensiua nec equi nec milites tolerare: quae si ad tempus aliquod sustinerent, ad modici cursus exercitium caderent et creparent. Modus autem bellandi ipsorum est non in campo fortiter sistere [60]aut constanter resistere[60] vel audacter inuadere, sed semper fugere aut fugare, plus in insidiis quam viribus confidentes. Et breuiter concludendo, post Graecos et Babylonios[61] ipsi sunt vilior natio orientis. Sexta ratio est, quia ipsi et Sarraceni, quos idem esse judico in hac parte, nam omnes credunt et colunt unam

[44] *Vero*, M.

[45] *Prefactam* or *prefattam*, M.

[46] *Seruis*, M.

[47] *Concludere*, M.

[48] Here M. adds *castra custodienda et fortalicia tradiderunt et quia huiusmodi libertini.*

[49] *Sarracennincam*, M.

[50] *Domini*, M.

[51] *Etiam*, M.

[52] *Suam*, M.

[53] *Haberet cui possunt*, M., which of course has *columpne*, below.

[54] *Numerorum*, M.

[55] *Ullam*, M.

[56] *Feretras*, M.

[57] Here M. adds *habent de corio.*

[58] *Coracie*, M.

[59] *Ulla*, M., which reads *tollerare, Babilonios, abhominabilis, inmunda*, as usual, below.

[60] M. omits these three words (*aut . . . resistere*).

[61] Here M. adds *in factis armorum.*

bestiam Machometum, quandam [62]adinuenerunt prophetiam[62] quod in istis temporibus debet eorum secta abominabilis et immunda per quendam Francorum principem destrui et deleri. Et ideo [63]quandocunque audiunt[63] passagium ordinari, excidiosum praestolantur cum magna formidine finem suum. Quod et ego veraciter sum expertus cum essem in Perside ubi propter remotionem[64] terrarum a nobis minus[65] debet passagium formidari. Cum enim Dominus Papa Clemens passagium indixisset, et apud illos de Perside verbum hujusmodi sonuisset, tantus timor et tremor eorum corda percussit ac si jam Francorum gladios ad spatulas[66] habuissent.

Epilogus ad praedicta.

[67]Praedicta autem non posui[67] et expressi quod propterea negligi debeant [P. 77] dispositio,[68] ordo, obedientia, disciplina, et prudentia militaris; ut quia hostis sine virtute est, sine prudentia, inualidus et inconstans, debeat exercitus noster vage procedere et incaute ac esse sine debita regula dissolutus. Per incautelam namque et securitatem atque defectum custodiae, quae ex aestimatione fragilitatis hostium procedebant, multi magni fortes et potentes exercitus perierunt. Amazones et mulieres quae in praedicta Turquia [69]ciuitatem Ephesum[69] construxerunt leguntur multos fortes tyrannos et principes superasse. Romani enim principes ita castra sua, [70]ubicunque in expeditionem[70] procederent, fossatis vallabant; muro cingebant,[71] ac si[72] semper hostis adesset[73] qui eos bellis assiduis et incursionibus molestaret.[74]

Ego, qui vix est natio in toto oriente quam[75] ad bellum non viderim processisse, ad praemissa hoc unicum superaddo, quod non[76] [M. 24 r] Turchos despicabiles et despectos, et Aegyptios abominabiles atque viles, sed simul fortes, et[77] Tartaros, Indos, Arabes, atque Persas, sola potentia Franciae absque auxiliariis quibuscunque cum modo, ordine, disciplina, et dispositione congruis superaret. Hoc dico, hoc assero, hoc confirmo. Nec est aliud in [78]vero et experto[78] judicio formidandum; non est aliud,

[62] *Aduenium prophesiam*, M.
[63] *Quandoque audiuit*, M.
[64] *Remociora*, M.
[65] *Minis* or *nimis*, M.
[66] *Spatulos*, M.
[67] *Predam autem posui*, M.
[68] *Disposi* (only), M.
[69] *Ciuitatum ciuitatem Ephesim*, M.
[70] *Ubicumque in expeditione*, M.
[71] Here M. adds *et in eis custodes ac vigiles disponebant.*
[72] M. omits *si*.
[73] *Adesse*, M.
[74] Here M. adds a section-heading, *Confirmacio predictorum.*
[75] *Quomodo*, M.
[76] Here M. adds *solum.*
[77] M. omits *et*, reading *Yndos, Ffrancie*, below.
[78] *Vere et experte*, M.

exclusis omnibus difficultatibus quae ad praedicta obici potuerunt,[79] metuendum, nisi[80] peccata propria impugnarent, aut modus directionis hujus viae debitus non adesset. Scio namque multos, scio contra[81] directionem hujusmodi itineris suas sententias probaturos; quibus non inuideo, non insulto, dummodo ad haec tria[82] experientia hos informet et utilitas propria. Per quemcunque[83] enim, Domine mi Rex, bene, recte, ac prospere tua itinera dirigantur. Hoc est quod intendo, hoc est quod cupio toto corde, ut te videam illaese[84] super [85]aspidem et basiliscum[85] ambulantem et draconem pedibus conculcantem ac tandem in sanctam Hierusalem tui sceptra regiminis moderantem et tanquam alter Dauid terrae infideles populos coaequantem.[86]

In fine conclusio monitoria sequitur ut in Deum tota mentis intentio dirigatur.

Igitur,[87] Domine mi Rex, ad hoc tam sanctum negotium exequendum non te ducat ostendendae tuae potentiae fastus, nec laudis propriae appetitus, nec elatio amplificandi[88] dominii, nec ambitio dominandi. Legimus namque quod Moysi [P. 78] fuit terrae sanctae promissio denegata quia pro se honorem et laudem appetiit, quae debuit dare Deo. Saul etiam meruit iram Dei, quia post victoriam sibimet erexit[89] fornicem triumphalem. In Machabaeorum libris quosdam de populo legimus[90] in manus hostium incidisse quia voluere[91] facere sibi nomen. Paganorum sunt haec[92] ut post optatos victorias et obtentas honores sibi celebrent et triumphos. Te autem, Domine mi, decet cum directione cordis, cum feruore deuotionis, et cum puritate intentionis attribuere gloriam et honorem immortali Regi, inuisibili, soli Deo, a quo debes[93] praemium expectare non momentaneum [94]et terrenum,[94] sed perpetuum et caeleste. Amen.

Explicit directorium uniuersum. [95]*Deo gratias in immensum. Amen.*[95]

[79] *Poterunt*, M.
[80] Here M. adds *si nos*.
[81] *Circa*, M.
[82] *Certa*, M.
[83] *Quecumque*, M.
[84] *Ille se* (two words), M.
[85] *Basiliscum et aspidem*, M.
[86] *Torquentem*, M.
[87] *Gitur*, M.
[88] *Ampliandi*, M.
[89] *Erexerant*, M.
[90] *Legius*, M.
[91] *Voluerunt*, M.
[92] M. omits *haec*.
[93] *Debet*, M.
[94] M. omits these two words.
[95] M. omits these five words.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Folkways. A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals. By WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER, Professor of Political and Social Science in Yale University. (Boston: Ginn and Company. 1907. Pp. v, 692.)

PROFESSOR SUMNER has written a very valuable and timely book, and one involving years of patient research, as well as the possession of a ripe and fearless mind. By "folkways" he means "the ways of satisfying needs which become habitual and customary by the uncoördinated coöperation of individuals, each trying to satisfy needs as well as he can. When these uncoördinated individual acts become habits of the individual and, after some generations, traditional customs of ancestors, they are recognized as advantageous to social welfare. Then they get a philosophy and become rules of the life policy. Thus they get a notion of 'ought' and are sanctioned by religion and by the force of society. At this stage the folkways turn into mores. Taken together they make a social philosophy and a public morality."

The timeliness of a treatise of this character, particularly when the work is carried out as Professor Sumner has done it, is that we are still so naïve and anthropomorphic in our modes of thought that we are in the habit of regarding white civilization as a superior type *qua* white, while in fact the great bulk of our social practices—of our morals, our religion, our marriage, our manners—are almost as little rationalized as our language. They are superior from the point of view of intelligence to the reflexes of animal behavior, but are very far from representing a complete rational oversight. They are but little superior in rational content to the practices of the natural and half-cultural races, and even this slight superiority is usually only a few centuries old.

Professor Sumner has developed this standpoint in a manner which is at once fascinating and convincing, and the range and aptness of the ethnological and historical data brought into play is a thing to admire. Incidentally his book is one of the strongest arguments yet presented for the essential likeness of the human mind in all times and in all peoples, and also a most suggestive volume for those who are interested in the reform of our whole system of education. The analytical and descriptive side of the work is not surpassed, hardly equalled, in the field of social psychology, and the first chapters I regard as the clearest statement yet made on the "folk-mind".

The two most serious defects of *Folkways* are a lack of psychological standpoint and a lack of systematic and complete presentation. Aspects of social life are presented in a kaleidoscopic fashion, different sections treat of the same question (compare 479 with 481 and 484; and 625 with 640), the fine print goes over the same ground as the coarse, and the reader cannot avoid the impression that the illustrative materials are sometimes shuffled rather than logically arranged. Some points are elaborated with extreme detail and others touched on in so fragmentary a manner that it would have been better not to treat them at all. (The section on Japanese woman contains a single citation from Hearn, and Chinese woman is not alluded to at all.) Some large and important fields illustrating folkways are very inadequately handled. The treatment of folkways as illustrated by literature and art is conspicuously poor, sketchy, and apparently perfunctory. On the psychological side there is lack of clearly defined theory. The irrational nature of folkways is convincingly displayed, but we find no indication of the psychology of the process by which social practices are slowly rationalized. Indeed, the reviewer does not feel that Professor Sumner has made out a difference between *folkways* and *mores*, and it is certain that he frequently uses the terms indifferently (compare sections 1 and 40).

In view of the extraordinarily wide range of authorities used, it is remarkable that Professor Sumner neither cites nor lists Steinmetz's *Ethnologische Studien zur ersten Entwickelung der Strafe*, Nieboer's *Slavery as an Industrial System*, Westermarck's *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, nor Schultze's *Alterclassen und Männerbunde*—the most important books, perhaps, on certain topics to which he gives particular attention.

WILLIAM I. THOMAS.

The Development of Western Civilization. A Study in Ethical, Economic, and Political Evolution. By J. DORSEY FORREST, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology and Economics in Butler College. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1907. Pp. xii, 406.)

THIS book is an interpretation of human history from the standpoint of the identity of interest of the individual and of society. Social reformers have set up this ideal as a goal to be reached and are busy with programmes for its speedy attainment. These however can be of no help in the solution of social problems unless they accord with the general law of development of the human race. To understand our present condition and to put into successful operation forces which shall alleviate present evils, the track of the onward march must be closely scanned. The purpose of the social reformer, however, will not be served by confining attention to the line of march. That line must be studied with reference to the general topography. That is, an understanding of social history cannot be acquired by the pursuit of any

special discipline, or of any number of special disciplines taken separately. The history of thought, the history of morals, the history of economics, the history of political institutions and commonwealths must be studied in conjunction for the right understanding of any one of them and their relations to the general progress of society.

Applying this method to the consideration of ancient societies the author finds that "as a result of reflection upon their decaying life the Hebrews were able to free the ethical impulse from the old social habits, the Greeks freed the idea of the end of life from the particular life activities, and the Romans, though they gave objective expression to the Greek idea of society in which common ends should be served by all, failed to organize the freed *impulse* into new *habits* having higher social *ends*".

The ideas had been abstracted, but the societies, which made the abstractions, perished. The Christian church which accepted the abstractions was face to face with a decaying civilization and the military mastery of the barbaric Teutons. Therefore it could not give the community idea institutional form and was compelled to compromise in organizing the social motive of love. The chief instrument employed to reach the ideal was magic. In the sphere of government it furnished administrative assistance to stem the onrushing forces of dissolution. In the sphere of industry its domains offered the models for economic development. The economic problem was conditioned primarily by the necessity of obtaining an adequate food supply. The urgency of this need compelled the abandonment of the complete control of the laborer's activity and methods which prevailed throughout the ancient world. The existence of free village communities among the Germans is not denied, but the exigencies of both war and industry soon transformed these into lordships where a servile population, whose condition was like that of the Roman *coloni*, performed the agricultural labor. The tillers of the soil, however, whether German or Roman, stood upon a higher plain than any industrial class of antiquity because the business of war and government carried on by rude masters and without an organized administrative system prevented any superintendence of labor processes on the part of rulers.

Thus under the feudal régime we have a novel conjunction of phenomena, *viz.*, a society acquainted with the ideals abstracted by the ancient civilizations, but a society forced back by convulsion into an exclusively agricultural stage and disintegrated into a congery of self-dependent units.

Advancement beyond this stage depended in the last analysis upon the accumulation of capital. The production of a food supply beyond the immediate needs of consumption opened the door again to commerce. The expansion of commerce led to the growth of towns and the diversification of industry, an emancipated industry, freed from outside control of its technique, though the control of that technique under the gild system was not completely individualized.

The nature and processes of this early commerce undermined the feudal régime and the realistic philosophy. It determined the institutions and activities of the city commonwealths of Italy. It conditioned the principalities of northern Europe. As it became less and less exclusively a commerce in luxuries and more and more a trade in staples and necessaries by the creation of new wants, there ensued not only a specialization of function in the activities of the individual but also a widening of the social activities of the individual. Society discovered without wholly perceiving it a new means to realize the social ends and thus undermined the position of the medieval church and made the Reformation a matter of course.

The dawn of the modern age, however, is signalized not so much by the formal revolt against the church, as it is by the political philosophy of the seventeenth century, rooted in the deposits of an economic revolution. The national state and the law of nations are agencies employed to enable the individual to function for larger and larger communities. The exercise of these agencies in the sphere of political action and of economic opportunity gave rise for the first time to the self-conscious individualism of the age of enlightenment. The state, like the gild and the church, was forced to abandon its claim to be the social end.

In these latter days the individual has put himself forward as the end. This assertion might only stimulate anarchy were it not for the organization of modern industry with its ever more insistent demonstration that no man liveth unto himself.

The author's method and treatment offer little ground for objection. What there is of it must be a matter of difference of emphasis rather than attack upon fundamentals. The thing of real moment is that he has given a new and important elucidation of the continuity of history.

JOHN H. CONEY.

Geschichte der Meder und Perser bis zur makedonischen Eroberung. Von JUSTIN V. PRÁŠEK. Band I. *Geschichte der Meder und des Reichs der Länder.* [Handbücher der alten Geschichte, Serie I., 5 Abteilung.] (Gotha: Perthes. 1906. Pp. xii, 282.)

WITH a new Shah on the Peacock Throne of Teheran, a written constitution, a parliament, and much talk outside as to what Persia may become or what may become of Persia, we may say that a book on the early history of Iran is more timely than usual. The author of the present work is a professor in the historical department of the University of Prague, and he has presented to us in his first instalment a learned and painstaking account of the sequence of events that took place before 500 B. C. in the lands between the Caspian Sea and Persian Gulf, the Tigris River, and the Indus, in other words the history of the kingdom of the Medes and Persians whose laws knew no change down to Alexander's time.

The writer leads us by his erudition through the dark mazes of the "Proto-Iranian and Proto-Median" periods, which might possibly have been lightened a little more at one point if he had made use of the less-known fact that "Median", as an adjective, really occurs in the Avesta as *Mazainya*—("the Mazanian demons" whom Zoroaster anathematizes)—and then he passes on to the beginnings of Media itself as a power.

In the face of such learning it may seem like carping or ungracious fault-finding—although one is none the less appreciative of the author's scholarship and critical acumen—to say that a large part of the Median portion of this history, or nearly half of the section lying before us, reads too much like a succession of deep and minute disquisitions, presenting argumentation as to the relative value of the various sources employed, discussion of views of previous writers, the *pros* and the *cons*, in short a sort of learned prolegomena, although the abundant bibliographical references in the foot-notes are always welcome. But much of this material of research would have found its place more appropriately in the publications of some special historical journal or the transactions of an academy, than in a book designed as well for the general student of history as for the professed Orientalist. It would have been really better to have published these portions separately as preliminary investigations, just as Professor Prášek has done on several occasions, and to have confined the present work more to results in those particular sections to which the reviewer is alluding.

The real interest in the present book, though not necessarily in fact, begins with the chapters on Cyrus, in treating of which the author lays special emphasis on the great ruler's grandly conceived idea of forming "a Kingdom of Countries"—a kind of Asiatic United States. It is to be regretted that when the Prague professor, at pages 204–205, places the date of Zoroaster's entering upon his ministry in the same year (559 B. C.) as that in which Cyrus began to reign, he does not show acquaintance with the special contributions on the life of the prophet of ancient Iran that have appeared since Floigl, whom he follows, wrote, more than twenty-five years ago.

It would come only within the province of a more technical review than this can be to point out minor details in which the Iranian specialist may take exception to the interpretation which the author has adopted for certain moot passages, or the view he maintains on certain disputed matters. It is not without interest, however, to observe that he finds reason for giving a higher estimate of the character of Cambyses than that which is commonly accorded to the mad monarch of Herodotus; in fact, a portion of his chapter on Cambyses reads like a whitewashing, but Dr. Prášek does not leave his reader without a chance to look up for himself the references on which this more favorable judgment is based, even though he may not agree with it. Yet *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*.

The section of the book lying before us for review ends with the overthrow of Smerdis, the Magian usurper; we shall look with interest for the next fascicle which promises to trace the career of the great organizer, Darius, and the sequence of events down to the momentous invasion of Iran by Alexander the Great.

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

Woman: Her Position and Influence in Ancient Greece and Rome, and among the Early Christians. By JAMES DONALDSON, M.A., LL.D., Principal of the University of St. Andrews. (New York, London, Bombay, and Calcutta: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1907. Pp. iv, 278.)

"SIR, I give you woman", cries the bagman in Thackeray, as he lifts his glass. The Principal of the University of St. Andrews gives us the woman of Graeco-Roman and early Christian antiquity in five or six agreeably written papers reprinted from the *Contemporary Review* of twenty-five or thirty years ago and supplemented by a useful bibliography and a few notes on the modesty of Homeric bathing, the character of Sappho, the relative dates of the *Ecclesiazousae* and the *Republic*, and similar topics of perennial controversy.

Good taste, a pleasant if somewhat Bowdlerized style and a sufficiency of sound though not very painstaking scholarship redeem this volume from any malicious comparison with the lectures which M. Maurice Lefévre delivered to *ces dames* in the presence of an *Auditrice auguste* and published with the title *La Femme à travers l'Histoire*. But the author himself would hardly claim for it the place of a serious historical monograph. He discourses pleasantly of the freedom enjoyed by the Homeric woman, of the lenient fatalistic view which the Homeric man took of her peccadillos, of the inevitable Nausicaa idyl. He attributes the succession for about four or five hundred years at Sparta "of the strongest men that probably ever existed on the face of the earth" to the purity and the gymnastic training of the Spartan girls. He protests against the villanous tales with which Athenian comedians have besmirched the name of Sappho, and commends the prototypes of the bachelor girl whose soul revolted at the sordid cares of housekeeping and sought refuge in her school from the low drudgery and monotonous routine to which it appears those women's lives were sacrificed in Lesbos. He ascribes the decay of Athens to the subjugation of her women, deduces the *hetaira* as the veritable complement of the unattractive Athenian wife, and takes the favorable, Professor Wilamowitz would say, the sentimental view of Aspasia. He shows us the good and the evil side of the Roman matron's life, describes her gradual emancipation, and sets forth the main features of the laws of marriage and divorce at Rome.

Lastly he shows how the position of woman declined with the decay

of the Empire through the early Christian centuries, and ascribes the failure of Christianity at first to elevate her condition to the fanatical asceticism of the more narrow-minded Christian fathers.

In all this there is little to praise or censure. The original sources have been consulted, but are not cited with sufficient fullness or precision to make the book a valuable work of reference. Sophocles does not represent one of his characters as regretting the loss of a brother or sister much more than that of a wife (p. 33). On the contrary, it is a woman, Antigone, who says that she could more easily replace a husband than a brother. In his account of the supposed speeches of Cato and L. Valerius in the Oppian Law Dr. Donaldson hardly appreciates the delicious humor of Livy. In citing Horace's *Nullis polluitur casta domus stupris* as proof of the success of the *Lex Julia* he takes an optimistic view of the evidential value of court poetry. It is not quite certain that Erinna was a pupil of Sappho; nor is it more than a conjecture that her poem, the "Distaff", sings the first revolt of the college girl against household drudgery.

But these are trifles. Dr. Donaldson's readable little book is perhaps quite as useful as a work of more solid erudition would be. Woman is half the world, as Plato said, and cannot be profitably studied, as some think she cannot study, in falsifying isolation from man. It is possible to tabulate for reference the laws and customs which from age to age have regulated the status of daughter, wife, widow or *hetaira*. But what generally passes for the study of woman is simply the study of sex—an essentially unhistorical theme for *plus ça change plus c'est la même chose*.

PAUL SHOREY.

Genséric, la Conquête Vandale en Afrique et la Destruction de l'Empire d'Occident. Par F. MARTROYE. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1907. Pp. vii, 392.)

THIS work is based on a careful use of all the available sources and presents a satisfactory account of the Vandal kingdom to the death of Genseric, 477.

The introduction is devoted mainly to a narrative of the Donatist controversy, the recital of which is used by M. Martroye to portray the separatist tendencies in Africa and the wretched condition of the African provinces. Chapter I. (La Conquête, pp. 78–136) covers the period from the death of Honorius, 423, to the treaty of 442 between Theodosius and Genseric. The events narrated are the rivalry of Aëtius and Boniface, the earlier wanderings of the Vandals, the career of the Visigoths under Ataulph and Wallia, and the conquest of Africa, 429–442. Some of M. Martroye's conclusions should be noticed: he is inclined to accept the story of the treason of Boniface and its motives as given by Procopius; he reckons the effective force of the Vandal army as 50,000 men at the most; the portion of Africa promised to

Genseric by Boniface he supposes to have been Mauretania, and that assigned the Vandals by the treaty of 442, proconsular Africa, Byzacene, and part of Numidia.

Chapter II. (Politique et Alliances de Genséric, pp. 137–165) continues the history to the sack of Rome, 455, and deals with the career of Attila, the palace intrigues in the time of Valentinian III., and the sack of Rome by the Vandals. Chapter III. (La Guerre contre l'Empire, pp. 166–262) is devoted mainly to an account of conditions in the West during the domination of Recimer, Orestes, and Odoacer in Italy. The relation of the Vandal kingdom to these events, of course, is given special attention. It is in this connection that M. Martroye develops his theory of the policy of Genseric; he shows him forming alliances with the Visigoths, Suevi, and Ostrogoths, intriguing with revolting generals of the East and the West, and taking part in the court politics of Rome and Constantinople. "The clever diplomacy of Genseric had succeeded in bringing about a situation analogous to that which, thirty years later, made the strength of Theodoric the Great. By his efforts an entente was established among the barbarians, and he became the bond of union among them and in a way their chief" (p. 235).

The material for chapter IV. (L'Organisation de la Conquête, pp. 263–325) is very meagre, but M. Martroye is able to show that the Roman administration was taken over almost complete by the Vandal kings. The Vandals were settled entirely in proconsular Africa, on lands taken from the former proprietors. They had a military organization, copied, M. Martroye asserts, from the Roman army; but there is nothing to indicate the persistence of any tribal organization. The Vandals were judged by Vandal law, but about the nature of this law or the method of administering it there seems to be no information.

Chapter V. (Le Gouvernement de Genséric, pp. 326–381) is devoted mainly to a discussion of the persecution of the Catholics and Roman aristocracy in proconsular Africa. In both cases the rigor of Genseric was inspired by political motives. In general the Vandal occupation, says M. Martroye, was not so disastrous as one might suppose; the provinces were spared the continual invasions that were devastating western Europe, the Moors were kept quiet by fear of the Vandals and the civil disturbances of the earlier period are not heard of after the conquest. Trade and commerce even began to revive after the wars of Genseric.

M. Martroye's estimate of Genseric is interesting. "He was the initiator of the system which some years later Theodoric put into practice in Italy." "Endowed to an extraordinary degree with the cunning (*l'esprit de ruse*) which a life of adventures had developed among the barbarians, and which their contemporaries regarded as their distinguishing characteristic, he possessed a rare ability for diplomatic intrigues." He was not, however, a statesman, and was not able to create a government that would endure.

M. Martroye's use of the sources is in general convincing, although his conclusions in some cases will be questioned. In the matter of the conscious policy which he attributes to Genseric the reader will feel that his theory, plausible and likely as it may be, is not completely established. He gives perhaps too much space to the miracles and marvels related by religious writers and to what in one instance he terms the "récits romanesques" of such chroniclers as Procopius and Jordanes, but these serve to enliven the narrative and do not seriously detract from its sober quality.

E. H. McNeal.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Dramatic Traditions of the Dark Ages. By Joseph S. Tunison. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1907. Pp. xviii, 350.)

The object of this book is to show that the Greek theatre existed in the Byzantine Empire throughout the Middle Ages and influenced the development in western Europe of both the medieval and the modern drama. As evidence the author cites literary productions, notices of persons and things theatrical, and practices in church and in social life. To connect the medieval and the modern drama with the unbroken Greek tradition, he tries to show that, when the medieval drama originated and when it was transformed into the modern, influence from Greece was actually present as a shaping force.

The book is very irritating, but very interesting and useful. It is interesting and useful, because it calls attention to many forgotten or only half-regarded features of Byzantine civilization in literature, in social life, and in the church. It is irritating, because the reader too often feels that, in order to reach sound conclusions, he must himself repeat Mr. Tunison's investigations. Dates are rarely given, though in such a discussion they are often essential; statements of fact fundamental to the discussion are often made without presentation of the evidence; the author too often uses evidence that has been discredited by recent research and too often makes unjustifiable inferences. The space allotted for this review permits only a few of the most flagrant examples.

On page eighty Eudocia (393–460) is cited as authority for comedy and the comedian Dexippus. In all the extant writings by this Eudocia (ed. Ludwich, Teubner texts), there is nothing of this nature. Apparently she is confused with another Eudocia (eleventh century), the putative author of the *Violarium*, a biographical dictionary now known to have been compiled about 1543. In the standard text of this (J. Flach, Teubner texts), section 309 is devoted to the comic writer Dioxippus (the older texts have Dexippus), and four of his comedies are mentioned.

Perhaps the most remarkable instances of uncritical procedure are connected with the attempt to ascribe the beginnings of the medieval

drama to Greek influence (pp. 161–181). Roswitha (Hrotsvit), as is well known, wrote a number of poems and six plays based on religious legends. She says she was induced to write her plays by reading the plays of Terence and blushing at their immorality. Mr. Tunison thinks that Greek influence at the Saxon court in the person of Theophano, wife of Otto II., is to be taken into account, and that Roswitha learned her dramatic technique from Theophano herself. No reason is assigned for rejecting Roswitha's statement, for her failure to mention her obligations to a lady of so great rank, or for the curious coincidence in number between her plays and those of Terence. The case for Greek influence is supported by very ingenious arguments. On page 164 we read: "But Roswitha took an unusual step for her time when she turned for materials [for her poems] to the synaxaries of the Greek church. The life of St. Pelagius, the histories of St. Proterius, St. Blasius, and St. Dionysius, the martyrdom of St. Agnes, the conversion of St. Theophilus, were for the most part material quite fresh in her time." As St. Blasius is nowhere mentioned by Roswitha, his name is doubtless a misprint for St. Basilius. Proterius, associated with him in the legend, is not the saint of that name; and the Theophilus mentioned is not St. Theophilus, but the well-known medieval counterpart of Faust. St. Agnes is a Roman saint and the scene of her martyrdom was Rome. St. Dionysius is the famous apostle to France and first bishop of Paris. As to St. Pelagius of Cordova, Roswitha says that she got his story from a citizen of Cordova. On page 165 we are told that Bodo the historian of Gandersheim says Roswitha knew Greek. So he does, but to weigh his testimony duly it is necessary to remember that he wrote some five hundred years after her death. On page 168 we are instructed that, "it is not impossible that they [the plays] should be mere paraphrases of pieces known to the religious theater of Byzantium". How then shall we account for the fact that they agree not only in general structure, but even in phraseology with Latin versions of the legends? Minor errors in detail also occur. That the play *Sapientia* "is an allegory in the form of a history" would have surprised Roswitha, and that it "might almost be called a masque" will surprise any reader who knows what constitutes a masque. It is surely misleading to say (p. 167) that "competent critics agree that her dramas could be acted as they were written". Some have contended that they could. That *Sapientia* and *Calimachus* could, is hard to believe. The implication of page 167 is that Roswitha's dramatic technique was excellent. Her "correctness" consists, in fact, only in not interpolating such expressions as "inquit" in the dialogue. She follows her legends almost slavishly and neglects the most obvious opportunities for spectacular and dramatic effects; see her treatment of the comic situation in *Dulcitius*, sc. iv, and compare, in *Gallicanus*, I, ix, with I, xii, 7, and, in *Calimachus*, sc. vii, with the report in ix, 13.

Why Mr. Tunison calls the account of the origin of tropes a legend

I do not understand. Notker himself tells us how he was led to compose them. But I am equally at a loss to know why Mr. Tunison regards Notker's master Yso as a "figment" and speaks of him as "supposititious". Is his other master, Marcellus, also a figment, developed from some Greek musical term? Notker himself mentions both with the same apparent good faith, the date of Yso's death is duly recorded in the necrology of St. Gall, and, although legendary elements had possibly crept into the story of his birth by the time Ekkehard IV. wrote, it is clear that he was a real person and that his name was not derived from the Greek term for the basal monotone of a melody, but was probably the vernacular form of Eusebius, his "name-father".

Even in his incidental excursions Mr. Tunison is unfortunate. Whether Guido delle Colonne knew Greek is a matter of little consequence—other men in the Middle Ages certainly did—but apparently he did not, or at least he made no use of his knowledge. Since the appearance of Gorra's *Testi Inediti di Storia Trojana* (1887), scholars have not credited Guido with a knowledge of Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis, to say nothing of Homer. The contents of the *Historia Destructionis Trojae*, even to minute details, are fully accounted for by Benoit de Sainte-More, Virgil, Ovid, and Isidore of Seville.

It is obvious, then, that Mr. Tunison's evidence cannot always be accepted without examination. But the book is, I repeat, distinctly interesting and valuable. It is the work of a scholarly and independent mind; but unfortunately the lack of sound methods produces as strange results in literary history as it used to produce in etymology. In the good old days of unchecked ingenious theorizing it was little trouble to derive an English word from the Hebrew or the Chaldee tongue. We have reformed all that in etymology, but we—not Mr. Tunison only, but professional scholars in some of the highest academic positions in this and other lands—are still pursuing in literary history and other fields of learning the same methods that brought etymology into disrepute. Mr. Tunison, in the scanty leisure of an editorial writer for a daily paper and without ready access to an adequately equipped library, has emphasized for us features in the history of literature and of civilization that have not received due consideration. By its merits no less than by its defects, his book deserves a more elaborate review than space here permits.

JOHN MATTHEWS MANLY.

Le Royaume de Bourgogne (888–1038). Étude sur les Origines du Royaume d'Arles. Par RENÉ POUPARDIN, docteur-ès-lettres. [Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes-Études, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, fascicule 163.] (Paris: Champion. 1907. Pp. xl, 508.)

AMONG the various areas to which, to the confusion of the historical student, the name of Burgundy has at one time or another been attached,

one of the most clearly defined is the kingdom of Burgundy which arose at the break-up of the Carolingian Empire in 888 and joined to itself half a century later the kingdom of Provence. The kingdom thus formed maintained an independent existence until its union with the empire in 1034, and in the imperial system it occupied a distinct place beside Germany and Italy. Although not an ethnic unit, it was composed almost wholly of Romance-speaking peoples; it was never Germanized, and the greater part of it was absorbed piece by piece by France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

As an historian of independent Burgundy M. Poupardin is admirably qualified. A pupil of Giry, Molinier, and Lot, he has distinguished himself by a volume on the kingdom of Provence and by various special studies in Carolingian history, and he has been designated editor of the Burgundian section in the collection of charters of French sovereigns which the Academy of Inscriptions has in active preparation. These documentary sources are for this period the historian's chief reliance, for there was practically no historical writing of any sort in Burgundy in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the chroniclers of neighboring lands mention Burgundian affairs only when connected with their own countries. So great is the scarcity of material that the author does not attempt a continuous narrative. He brings together such facts as exist for the reign of each sovereign, and then studies for the period as a whole the character of the royal power and the feudal and ecclesiastical conditions. The material is unfortunately lacking for what would be an instructive comparison with Capetian and German kingship. Thietmar of Merseburg described Burgundian royalty in his day as possessing only the crown and the royal title and as supported at the expense of the bishops, and other indications bear out his characterization. The main interest of this period lies in the development of feudal centres of authority, and M. Poupardin shows how the large fiefs were formed and how the bishops acquired the prerogatives of counts in their dioceses. These conditions serve to explain why the kingdom never acquired real unity and why the German emperors found themselves in much the same position as their Burgundian predecessors with relation to the great lay and ecclesiastical princes of the kingdom of Arles. Incidentally the narrative throws light on various aspects of the period, such as the growth of feudal institutions, the Truce of God, and the Saracen and Hungarian invasions. Various special points, notably the relation of *episcopatus* and *comitatus*, are discussed in the appendices. There are genealogical tables and an excellent index. The volume is an excellent type of the French doctor's thesis and a valuable contribution to medieval history.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

The Pearl-Strings; A History of the Resúliyy Dynasty of Yemen. By 'Aliyyu 'bnu 'l-Hasan 'El-Khazrejiyy; with Translation, Introduction, Annotations, Index, Tables, and Maps. By the late Sir J. W. Redhouse, Litt.D. Edited by E. G. Browne, R. A. Nicholson, and A. Rogers, and printed for the Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial." Volume I., containing the First Part of the Translation. (Leyden: E. J. Brill; London: Luzac and Company. 1906. Pp. xxvii, 320.)

Among the various bequests made and funds established during the last few years for the encouragement of different branches of learning the historical student may well feel a special interest in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial", for the scope of this fund includes not only studies in Oriental philology, but also researches touching any questions pertaining to the Mohammedan Orient.

This Memorial "was founded", as one of the circulars of its publications states, "by the late Mrs. Gibb, of Glasgow, to perpetuate the memory of her son the late Elias John Wilkinson Gibb, who died in his forty-fifth year on December 5, 1901, and to promote those researches into the History, Literature, Philosophy and Religion of the Turks, Persians and Arabs to which his life was devoted". "The income of the Trust Fund may, at the discretion of the Trustees, be used for purposes connected with the furtherance of the studies enumerated above other than the publication of texts, translations and memoirs, such as the purchase of books and manuscripts, the granting of travelling scholarships, and the endowment of lecturers; but hitherto it has been chiefly applied to publication."

It is with great satisfaction that the reviewer notes the evident purpose of the trustees of this fund to publish translations of various important Oriental works. The great value of good translations from Oriental languages and the fact that there are so few of such translations have often been referred to by others, but are not likely to be mentioned too often. In spite of the great and manifest importance of, for example, the Arabic language, for the study of medieval history, the experience of years has made the reviewer feel very skeptical that any considerable number of historical students will spend enough time studying Arabic to enable them to use Arabic sources in the original. Whatever idea they get of these sources will almost inevitably be derived wholly, or for the most part, from translations. It was therefore a happy thought on the part of the trustees to introduce early into the series (it is vol. III., part 1) the first part of Al-Khazraji's important work translated by such a well-known scholar as the late Sir James W. Redhouse.

Al-Khazraji the author of this work, a unique manuscript of which belongs to the India Office, lived, as the translator informs us in his preface, at the court of the seventh monarch of the line whose history

he recounts, and died in the year 1409. The leading members of the family whose history he describes, having attained to a position of importance in Egypt, were sent by Saladin in 1173 to Yemen in the suite of Melik Mu'adhdham (commonly spelled Mu'azzam) his brother. It is with the arrival of this leader in Al-Yemen that the real history begins, although the author has given more or less legendary material purporting to be a sketch of the history of the family from the very earliest times (pp. 45–74).

Arrived in Yemen, members of the family were assigned to various positions of importance, their influence grew, and when in 1227 or 1228 Melik Mes'úd died (p. 90), Núru'd-Dín 'Umer son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl, whom he had made his lieutenant in the whole of Yemen, determined to become an independent sovereign, though at first "he outwardly showed himself the lieutenant of Melik Mes'úd, making no alteration in the coinage or in the public prayer for the sovereign" (p. 94). So successful was he in his plans that by 630 A. H. (A. D. 1232–1233) we find him coining money in his own name and ordering preachers to offer public prayer for him (p. 97). It is the history of the first seven monarchs of the dynasty thus founded by him that we have in this work, for, as the translator tells us in his preface, the history ends with the death of Sultan Melik 'Eshref II., A. D. 1400, "though the dynasty was not dispossessed for another sixty years". The present volume brings the story down to the death of the Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed in A. H. 721 (end of A. D. 1321).

Beside a full table of contents the volume has a preface by Professor Browne which contains among other things some interesting information about the translator, Sir James W. Redhouse, including a letter from him to Mr. Gibb. There is a short preface by the translator himself telling how he came to transcribe and translate the work. In the introduction (pp. 5–41), by the same hand, is given an outline of the history of Yemen from the earliest times down to 1858. The student will find this of much value in helping him to secure the proper perspective in considering the present work.

It is of course impossible to pass final judgment on the work till the rest of the translation, together with the text and the annotations, appear (it is planned to devote four more volumes to the complete work), but an examination of the volume will at once show the large amount of valuable material it contains for the political, religious, and social history of the period, and will make the student grateful to Professor Browne and his fellow-editors and to the trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial for making accessible to scholars this translation prepared with so much care by that great Orientalist, the late Sir James W. Redhouse.

J. R. Jewett.

The Prince of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea, a Study of Greece in the Middle Ages. By Sir RENNELL RODD, K.C.M.G. Two volumes. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1907. Pp. xvi, 301; iv, 334.)

THE history of Greece during the two centuries and a half between the capture of Constantinople in 1204 by the Fourth Crusade and the destruction of the Greek Empire in 1453 has never been satisfactorily written. Materials exist in considerable quantity and have accumulated recently through the efforts of Hopf and others. The various narratives which serve as sources for such a history are written from many points of view, and the attempt to construct the story as a whole has a tendency to become a series of family and disconnected narratives. Taken separately many are romantic. The difficulty comes in the attempt to weave them together. Sir Rennell Rodd has attempted the task of bringing the narratives into some kind of connexity so far as relates to Achaia and the Morea. Finlay in his *History of Greece* from 1204 to 1453 covers a larger field, though he does not give in such detail the story of Achaia. Sir Rennell Rodd has given to his particular subject much careful research. He writes clearly and in certain places also he is able to add useful local color from his own observation. As in his previous book on Greek customs, he shows his sympathy with the population of Greece and tells the stories of some of the barons in an interesting manner. As a contribution to the history of the period his work will always have the value which attaches to an independent examination of the authorities. Where it fails is, that it does not attempt to give an account of the condition of the population and that it makes no attempt to connect the events related with the history of Greece as a whole or to show their relation to that of Eastern Europe. This is the more remarkable because Sir Rennell Rodd precedes his narratives with an account of the sack of Constantinople in 1204 and the division of the Empire, though he tells that prefatory story in a quite imperfect manner.

Upon the capture of Constantinople, the Empire west and south of Salonica was divided among the crusading leaders. The provinces were peopled with peasants who wished only to be left at peace and fell an easy prey to invaders. The only method of government which the leaders knew was that of the feudal system and they at once parcelled out the southern half of the Balkan peninsula into fiefs. The arrangement might have worked if the Latin emperors had been actual rulers. The fatal fault of the system was that there were soon a number of competing overlords. Of course the emperor on the Bosporus was the one to whom under a properly organized feudal system all the greater and smaller barons should have been subject. But while some so regarded him, the greater number looked up to the king of France as their lord, others to the king of Naples, while others held under the

Republic of Venice. The Latin bishops who were appointed wherever the crusaders held rule did homage only to the pope. As each overlord was usually jealous of his prerogatives and privileges, there entered at once the element of discord. Barons supported by their lords were constantly at war with each other.

Meanwhile the population, mostly Greek, was harassed by exactions and by liability to services. Although among the rulers during the period treated of some were competent yet the characteristic note is the disregard of the population except as objects of extortion.

There is nothing in history quite like what happened in Greece during the two centuries after the establishment of the Latin Empire in 1204. A weak empire, a hostile population, a crowd of knightly adventurers, the chance of carving out kingdoms and duchies, two competing churches with prelates, priests and people in bitter opposition, all created a situation difficult to match. Many illustrations of the confusion and struggles which resulted are furnished by the author. Especially noteworthy is the story of the Villehardouins, who conquered the whole west coast of the Morea, succeeded in getting themselves recognized as Princes of Achaia, made terms with Venice, and held their own till 1245.

As the thirteenth century closes, we find the quarrels between the western barons in Greece and their overlords still continuing. Isabella Villehardouin became sole ruler of Achaia. In 1307 she and her husband bartered their claims in Achaia for certain lands and titles in Italy under Charles II. of Naples.

Though the Latin Empire had come in 1261 to a well-deserved end, the western barons continued for a century later to dream of its restoration. To realize this dream, they were aided by some of the popes. Much energy, ingenuity, and persistency was displayed by the Angevins and especially by Philip of Tarentum in trying to concentrate in themselves all the supposed claims to the throne of Constantinople. Sir Rennell in order to account for this, suggests that there still existed a belief that the "legitimate traditional seat of the Empire was in Byzantium"; that the popes held that the re-establishment of such empire in its "immemorial place" seemed a natural solution and therefore worked for it. But the suggestion will hardly bear examination. "One God, one church, and one emperor", had ceased to have any hold on Western men after the memorable coronation of Charles the Great on Christmas day 800, unless with the idea that the seat of the empire should be in the West. There is not a jot of evidence known to me that would suggest that either pope or king in the West wished it to be at Constantinople. Moreover at the particular period of which the author is speaking Philip le Bel was a more powerful personage than the pope, and no one would venture to suggest that Philip would have been in favor of the transfer of the seat of empire to Constantinople. Angevins and other claimants for the throne of Constantinople were

simply intriguing and fighting for their own hands. Each one wished that if an empire should be re-established he might be the emperor and though every year rendered such an event less probable, the chance of it was worth bearing in mind.

Sir Rennell points out that such chivalry as had existed in the Morea had vanished by the beginning of the fourteenth century. The history of that century is one of struggle and confusion and the complete breakdown of the feudal arrangements from which much had been hoped. Among the incidents which completed that breakdown he rightly attaches importance to the action of the Catalan Grand Company. Although they played their most mischievous part in preventing the Greek emperor from offering successful resistance to the Turks their lawless adventures have also an important place in the story of the Princes of Achaia. The authority mostly relied upon in these volumes is that of one of the adventurers; for, though Pachymer is quoted, his version, clear and without undue partiality, is practically disregarded, and their history until 1309 will not be correctly gathered from these volumes. After the departure of these buccaneers from the Greek Empire, they pushed on into Macedonia and Thessaly, took sides with one or other of the various claimants, and in 1311 in an important battle fought at Lake Copaïs secured victory against what Sir Rennell speaks of as the "finest fighting force the Franks of Romania had ever mustered", numbering some 8,000 foot and 6,000 horse. The bandits practically annihilated the knights. Without joining the author in his admiration for the knights generally, it may yet be admitted that some of them had been fairly good rulers and were certainly better than the adventures by whom they were beaten.

By this time everyone had become afraid of the Catalan Company. Popes and kings anathematized or disowned them. In 1313 the Venetians attacked them in Euboea. The pope urged the republic to uphold Christendom against "the sons of perdition" who were working by means of infidel Turks. They had made of the Piraeus a pirates' nest. They managed however to hold on notwithstanding the ban of excommunication, which was only removed in 1346 by Clement when he wanted their aid against the Turks. Their rule in Athens lasted seventy years and came to an end in 1386.

Of the adventures of the princes of the mercantile house of Acciaiuolo, of Leonard Tocco, and of others it is impossible to speak here except to say that in the narrative of their adventures a novelist may find abundance of incident. The transfer of authority to the Knights of Rhodes, who took that title about 1309, is almost the final phase of the history of the principality of Achaia. But by this time the confusion was at its worst. Companies of condottieri appeared who were ready to sell their swords to the highest bidder. The Greek emperors were gradually regaining their hold over the country and there can be little doubt, that it was a blessing to the population when the adminis-

tration of the country fell again under the rule of Constantinople. The dissensions among their rulers had made the peasants welcome even the Turks. Zacharia, the last prince of Achaia, obtained that dignity in 1404. On his death some thirty years later the Morea was once more mainly in the hands of the Greeks and the reign of the Frank barons was at an end.

Sir Rennell Rodd's narrative is usually accurate. I should like to know what authority the author has for stating (I. 277) that Andronicus II. (1282–1328) reduced the famous Varangian Guard. I am writing on an island in the Marmora without my books, but I recall no traces of such guard at so late a period. Moreover why not call the Varangians, Warings? Following Rafn and Hyde Clarke I have shown the connection between the Varini of Tacitus, and the Warings who settled in England and left their name in Waringford, Waringwic or Warwick, Warington, etc., as well as in the not uncommon family name of Waring. Sir Rennell Rodd says (I. 269), that "The name is no doubt identical with φράγγοι, Frank, Feringhi, foreign." I have no doubt that it is not identical. He quotes a chrysobul of Alexius I. where they appear as Ῥώσσων and as βαρράγγων. Bede also calls the Warings, Russians, in enumerating the three branches of the Teutonic race by which Britain was colonized. Villehardouin calls the guard "les Anglois et les Danois". No contemporary author confuses Warings with Frenchmen and Italians, who were Franks. The derivation given by the author is no longer accepted. They were Warings whose language was understood by the English who after the conquest of England in 1066 joined their ranks. Their appearance as described by Leo the Deacon shows them to have been like Saxons and Angles. Sir Rennell implies that the famous guard was unknown before the eleventh century. Here again he is mistaken. The Emperor Murzuphlos was not flung from the column of Arcadius upon the marble pavement of the forum of Taurus in Constantinople (I. 68), for the column is more than a mile distant from that forum. The general opinion is that the execution was from the column of Constantine known now as the Burnt Column.

In conclusion it may safely be said that the volumes under notice are valuable for the parts relating to the Morea though they show traces of haste elsewhere. If the author could find time to cut the two volumes down to one, omitting such parts as have no immediate connection with his subject and revising the rest, his book would be improved and have a distinctly greater historical value.

Edwin Pears.

Richard III: His Life and Character. Reviewed in the Light of Recent Research. By Sir CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B. London: Smith Elder and Company; New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1906. Pp. xix, 327.)

THE appearance of a life of the last Plantagenet king by one of his most ardent admirers, Sir Clements Markham, did not come altogether as a surprise to students of English history. It was foreshadowed some fifteen years ago when Sir Clements, then Mr. Markham, contributed a long article on Richard III. to the *English Historical Review* in which he attempted to clear that king's character of all stain and convict his successor, Henry VII., of the murder of the sons of Edward IV. Unfortunately for his contentions Mr. James Gairdner entered the lists on behalf of the Lancastrians and Tudors and, in a subsequent number of the *Review*, vigorously repelled the accusation against Henry, showing the weakness of many of the arguments used by Mr. Markham.

The fact that the character of Richard III. was unduly blackened by the Tudor historians of the later fifteenth century, combined with the scarcity of strictly contemporary evidence as to his deeds, was bound, sooner or later, to cause a reaction in his favor. This reaction has shown itself in the biography by Sir George Buck, published about the middle of the seventeenth century, in Horace Walpole's *Historic Doubts* (1768), and in biographies by Halsted (1844) and by Legge (1885). The most authoritative biographer, however, Mr. James Gairdner, takes what is on the whole an adverse view of Richard's character and is inclined to hold him guilty of the murder of the young princes until he can be clearly proved innocent. At the same time Mr. Gairdner does much to clear the record of Richard's reign from unjust charges of maladministration.

In an interesting preface to his biography Sir Clements tells us how he came to be a defender of Richard III. and to bring out the present imposing life of him. Encouraged by several well-known English historians of the later nineteenth century he has carried the controversy over the character and deeds of Richard III. a step further and has given us a remarkable panegyric. The first part, containing eleven somewhat brief chapters, is a somewhat highly colored and partizan account of Richard's life and the fortunes of the Yorkists and Lancastrians. It closes with a spirited description of the battle of Bosworth in which Richard is made the hero while "Henry Tudor was skulking in the rear". It is hardly worth while to criticize this first portion of the biography in detail, nor would our space permit so doing, for it is clearly partizan throughout, exalting the conduct and character of the Yorkists and debasing the Lancastrians. Every charge against the former faction is repudiated and the authorities declared unreliable, while the same authorities are accepted if the story is to the discredit of the Lancastrians. Richard is truly "acquitted on all counts of the indictment" but the trial and verdict is not by an impartial judge.

The second part of the book is given up to a detailed examination of the various charges against Richard and the attempted proving of his innocence, after which, in part II., ch. v., we have "Henry Tudor in the Dock" and this unfortunate prince is shown to be the real criminal and to have used Richard as a shield. It is only surprising that Henry VII. is not made responsible for the murders of Henry VI. and of Clarence as well. Another statesman whose character is blackened by Sir Clements is Cardinal Morton, whom he holds responsible for practically all the charges against Richard III. found in the contemporary chronicles and for the *Life of Richard III.* usually attributed to Sir Thomas More. Every obscure reference in the sources of the time is made definite and full of meaning—"the children" referred to in July, 1484, can be none other than the young princes, still alive, "the Lord Bastard" of 1485 is certainly the young Edward V., because he is called "Lord" and not just "Bastard". And so it is assumed that the survival of the princes into the reign of Henry VII. is proved, Richard is entirely guiltless of their death, as he has been shown to be of all other crimes charged against him, and Henry VII. is the villain of the later fifteenth century. The reasoning that Sir Clements Markham uses is very ingenious but hardly convincing, and he does not improve his case by attempting in his closing chapter to show that Mr. Gairdner is inconsistent in his portrayal of Richard.

Historically speaking such a work is a mistake. A calm, careful, judicious examination of the evidence in regard to Richard III. has already been made by Mr. Gairdner and his judgment is that unless fresh original material can be discovered we must continue to accept in large part the traditional view as to his moral character. Sir Clements Markham does not bring forward new evidence of any great value and yet he acquits Richard of all crime or baseness, making him a model son and brother, a noble king, and a loving uncle. The picture he gives of Richard is far more inconsistent with what is certainly known of him than that given by Mr. Gairdner in his excellent biography.

Nothing but praise can be bestowed on the general appearance and typography of Sir Clements's book. There is an admirable portrait of the king prefixed to it, a number of interesting tables and genealogies, and in the back an excellent map of the battle of Bosworth. Errors in printing are seemingly lacking and the style of the book is thoroughly readable and clear.

N. M. Trenholme.

The Censorship of the Church of Rome and its Influence upon the Production and Distribution of Literature. Volume II. By George Haven Putnam, Litt.D. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1907. Pp. vi, 510.)

In the first volume of his *Censorship of the Church of Rome*, Dr. Putnam had carried the history of Indexes other than Roman down to

the beginning of the nineteenth century; in his second volume he goes back a step to treat of the Index to Benedict XIV. of 1758, and then carries his narrative down to the present day. But the arrangement of the volume is by subject rather than chronologically, and so we find chapters devoted to the Treatment of the Scriptures under Censorship, the Monastic Orders and Censorship, Examples of Condemned Literature, and the Censorship of the Stage. In this arrangement of his material Dr. Putnam has only followed the example of Reusch, whose work has been the chief source of his text and references, as was the case in the first volume. Dr. Putnam is quite right in stating that the "Index lists are marvels of bibliographical inaccuracy", but can he cite any instances of a misunderstanding of the subject of the books, and of the language in which they were written, as remarkable as those of which he himself is guilty? Reusch (II. 119) cites the title "Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigensis tributa in libros duos, opera et studio T. J., d. i. Thomae James, London 1600"; in the work before us (II. 7) it appears as "the Cantabrigensis tributa of Thomas James". Usher's "Gravissimae quaestiones de christ. ecclesiarum . . . continua successione et statu historica explicatio" (Reusch, II. 119) is cited as "Gravissimae Quaestiones de Christ. Ecclesiarum" (II. 7). The title of a French controversial work, "L'Antechrist Romain opposé à l'Antechrist juif du Card. Bellarmin, du Sieur Remond et autres" (Reusch, II. 129), is abridged and emasculated as "Remond's treatise 'L'Antichrist Romain opposé à l'Antichrist Juif du Bellarmin'" (Putnam, II. 2).

The narrative of Reusch stops with the early eighties of the last century; Dr. Putnam's own note-books seem to have supplied him with but few of the more recent attempts on the part of the Roman church to arrest the progress of modern science and criticism, and of general intelligence. The sub-title of the book calls for the chapter on the Censorship of the State and by Protestants, of which the title is promising but the contents disappointing, as it is only a mild exposition of the apologetic work of Hilgers. This Jesuit writer is indebted to Reusch for most of his material, Dr. Putnam has already utilized that material in the first volume of his work; he accepts at this point, without criticism, the misinterpretations of the facts and the fallacies in the arguments of a controversial work. As the latest official statement of the purpose and intent of the Index, Dr. Putnam, in the chapter on the Literary Policy of the Modern Church, cites in full four of the documents prefatory to the Index of 1900, issued by Leo XIII.; but his failure to cite the source of his translation leaves his readers in doubt as to the meaning of the Latin original. In the final chapter on the Authority and Results of Censorship, where he confines himself almost entirely to repeating Reusch's citations from papist apologists, the omission of his authority's sane comments leaves one in doubt of the true statement of the matter, and of Dr. Putnam's own opinion of the effect

of the institution in the past, and as a present-day problem. Both a problem and a danger, because in the same year in which Pius X. has issued a syllabus to counteract the influence of the German Catholics' League against the Index, the authorities of one of the greatest public libraries in the United States have gone out of their way to prevent the admission of Fogazzaro's *Il Santo*, and to withdraw from circulation vernacular translations of the Bible, certain volumes of Carducci's works, and that dangerous heretical work Dickens's *Child's History of England*.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

Queen Hortense and Her Friends, 1783–1837. By I. A. TAYLOR. In two volumes. (New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. 1907. Pp. xii, 310; viii, 328.)

APART from the two emperors the members of the Bonaparte family were, at best, uninteresting mediocrities, but three of the Bonaparte wives, the Empresses Josephine and Eugénie and Queen Hortense, have never ceased to be the objects of the greatest interest. The winning personalities with which these three women graced the imperial court contributed in no small measure to the glory and success of the two emperors. The very brilliancy of their success as allied members of the imperial family made them the objects of bitter jealousy within the family and of intense hatred from enemies of the Bonapartes. Devout and enthusiastic admiration has been rendered to them by some writers, while others have reviled them as royalties and defamed them as women. Some women in their positions might have received exact justice from their biographers, but women of their characters and temperaments cannot expect it, for they are destined to be well hated or well loved, and the more exalted their position, the more intense the love or the hatred. To the historian these women are of slight importance for they had little influence in matters of state. They interest, rather, the thoughtless throng which delights in the gossip of high society and the sorrows of the unfortunate, and delights supremely in the stories of court life and the tribulations of unfortunate queens. Even compared with her mother and her daughter-in-law, the importance of Hortense is slight, and interest attaches to her chiefly as a queen to be pitied.

While Miss Taylor has produced an elaborate and conscientious study of the afflicted queen, the historian will find very little in it of service; those that weep over the sorrows of the great will find that the tragic element has not been developed in a racy style; and the seeker after scandal will find that element completely ignored, for the author is loathe to believe Hortense guilty of any lapse from virtue, and even casts serious doubt upon her supposed parentage of the Duc de Morny. There was need of a book in English on Queen Hortense. Miss Taylor has fairly supplied it, and incidentally has furnished the

best complete account of her in any language. In English there has been nothing except Abbott's volume for the youthful reader. In French there exist the worthless eulogy by Fourmestraux published under the Second Empire; the more careful study published a decade ago by Turquan, who fancied he was writing a "true" life because he was retailing all the scandalous gossip; and two of the four promised volumes of Mademoiselle d'Arjuzon's detailed but adulatory account. Miss Taylor, of course, ignores the two first mentioned narratives, cites Turquan only for refutation, and quotes Arjuzon frequently. Masson's elaborate works are often cited, but it must be remembered that the brilliant academician has furnished no satisfactory guarantees for the authenticity of his work. Miss Taylor has read widely among the memoir-writers and depends largely upon Mesdames Campan, Récamier, and Rémusat, and Mademoiselle Cochelet (Madame Parquin). In the absence of all, save a fragment, of the Memoirs of Hortense, which seem destined unfortunately never to be published, information concerning her must be derived chiefly from the memoirs of the court ladies—certainly not unimpeachable authorities. The author would have been wise had she quoted the Duchesse d'Abrantès, Fouché, and Constant less freely and less confidently. Miss Taylor has made no new researches, and supplies no new materials. She might well have inserted an essay upon the authorities or, at least, a complete list of the works cited. There are few criticisms of detail aside from the treatment of foreign proper names, in respect to which there are several infelicities. The use of the future perfect tense for historical narration is a new invention and should be patented without delay. On the other hand, the exclusive right of the Paris edition of the *Herald* to such a phrase as, "the Louis Bonapartes" should be respected.

The author restrains herself alike from adulation and from denunciation of Hortense. Almost invariably she takes the favorable view of her acts and only in rare instances does she criticize her. Eugénie's "douce entêtée" and Napoleon's "soie raisonnable" furnish her the keynote for her judgments upon the charming unfortunate. Whatever one's judgment in regard to specific facts, there is nothing in morals or misfortunes to differentiate Hortense greatly from many French women of her generation. The historian of the Napoleonic era will accord her scant mention.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

The Fall of Napoleon. By OSCAR BROWNING, M.A. (London and New York: John Lane Company. 1907. Pp. x, 327.)

THE Napoleonic library that one might create, *i. e.*, of books or pamphlets wholly or partly on the subject of the Great Corsican, now numbers some thirty thousand volumes; and the present and promised output may run it up in the next generation to forty thousand. Yet they are all welcome, if good; and curiously most of them are read.

This book is on Napoleon the man and statesman; Napoleon the soldier is only sketched, although the author, oblivious of Hannibal, calls him "the greatest of all soldiers". The military narrative begins with the return from Russia, for failure in which country Napoleon is in a sense exculpated. The campaign of 1813, with Lützen and Bautzen, Dresden and Kulm, the Katzbach and Dennewitz, Leipsic and Hanau, is shortly treated; and that of 1814, with its desperate energy and fiery strategy, receives scant space. But in the Hundred Days, the author, as is natural to an Englishman, goes more into detail, and gives over one hundred pages—over a quarter of the volume. But then this is not a military history. The other portions of the work on the political phases of these amazing thirty months are more full and satisfactory. "It is only a personal history of Napoleon . . . between the years 1813 and 1815", claims the author; and yet the negotiations between the allies and Napoleon, and among the allies themselves, are amply set forth and readably discussed; and the great actors who then filled the stage are painted with good coloring, even if the hyper-trickiness of the era darkens the tone.

It does not seem, however, that the allies desired, as much as the author states, the continuance of the war until Napoleon could be crushed; that Metternich was always formulating terms that he knew Napoleon would not accept. There were many times when all those who governed the allied powers would have been glad of peace. The chief difficulty was that Napoleon could not, would not acknowledge that all Europe in arms was stronger than he was; that he would not accept less than his own terms for the sake of weary France. And this it was in which he was at fault.

Mr. Browning, we think, underrates the character of the czar. Alexander was the strongest of the allied sovereigns, and although Metternich as a diplomatist in many ways overtopped him, yet it was his character, more than that of Francis or of Frederick William, that carried the allied plans through to success. The monarch who waged the 1812 campaign was not a weak man. Neither were the allied monarchs, despite Metternich and Stein and Nesselrode, mere puppets.

The story of the futile Congress of Chatillon is well told; that of the island of Elba is most interesting. In many ways the emperor here exhibited the reasonable side of his character, so ably depicted by Lord Rosebery. His enemies did themselves no credit by their manner of treating him. "The King of France left him without money, the emperor of Austria robbed him of his child, Metternich employed a ruffian to debauch his wife, Castlereagh wished to transport him, Talleyrand to throw him into prison, and perhaps to assassinate him." Why should he not turn upon them? Yet a reasonable spirit was almost constant at Elba. The later life of Marie Louise is pointed out. It is an unsavory tale. With all her faults Josephine was the better woman; and it was with reason Napoleon wept in her room at Mal-

maison before he left the capital he and she had jointly made so beautiful and gay.

The return from Elba, dwelling upon the personal side of the story, is excellently narrated; and the drama at Laffray, when Napoleon advanced alone to meet the regiment that had been sent to arrest or kill him, is picturesque. "Surely, this is one of the great scenes of history!" exclaims our author.

Next come the chapters on the Waterloo campaign, rich in annals of British pluck. Then follow those describing the emperor's bearing while awaiting the decision of his captors as to his own future. England was the most exacerbated of the powers. In a leader of July 25, the *Times* called Napoleon a savage deserving the gallows.

The volume is well manufactured, and but for some errors in proofreading (such as *Hassau* for *Hanau*, *Soignies*—the forest of—for *Soignes*, and *Marmont* for *Murat* in one place), no fault can be found with it. It is illustrated with eleven good phototypes. The battles merely hinted at need no maps. The Hundred Days would be better for a map of the celebrated triangle and one of Waterloo. Some of the translated quotations are only partial, without stars to show the gaps. These stars seem essential. Their absence sometimes affects the meaning.

Taken as a study of the politics of these stirring months, and as a sketch of by far the strongest actor in the momentous drama, the work can be highly commended. It is one that the worshippers of Napoleon will welcome.

THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE.

Napoleon's Conquest of Prussia, 1806. By F. LORAINE PETRE. With an Introduction by Field Marshal Earl ROBERTS, V.C., K.G., etc. (London and New York: John Lane Company. 1907. Pp. xxiii, 319.)

As Bonaparte's advance against Austria in 1797 was a part of his campaign of 1796, so were the Pultusk-Eylau-Friedland manoeuvres properly the continuation of the Jena operation, and Mr. Petre's recently reviewed book on the campaign in Poland was in a sense incomplete without the present volume to precede it. As Lord Roberts points out, the study of military history is growing among English-speaking peoples, and we welcome any exhaustive study of a notable campaign, even in this year of the Peace Congress. In his introduction Lord Roberts preaches mainly from the text of unpreparedness, the common failing of America as well as England—and his few words may well be heeded. The work is recommended "particularly to statesmen, on whose shoulders rests the responsibility of power".

The volume is easy to read. To a student already familiar with 1806, there are fewer causes of dissent than are usual. Mr. Petre sketches out the political as well as the military status: Prussia's neu-

trality from 1795 to 1805; her growing arrogance until Austerlitz suddenly humbled her tone; Napoleon's heaping diplomatic insult after insult upon her, while outwitting her in statecraft; her turning upon the conqueror of Austria with demands equally insulting; her false reliance on her really outworn military system—although even Napoleon respected it: "il y aura de la terre à remuer", said he; her utter failure to comprehend the methods of the new master of war.

At first blush, Napoleon's task appeared to be no sinecure: he was still at war with Russia; he was not certain Austria would not again rise, if she had the chance; and he needed the army of 1805. This has been called the best he ever commanded, and by 1806 it had been hardened by marching and fighting and strengthened morally by victory. The Prussian army was based on pipe-clay and ramrod discipline—the skeleton of Frederick's system without the soul, without the king's amazing capacity to do the fit thing. But its leaders knew not its weakness, had learned no lessons from Rivoli or Marengo. They deemed the army that Vater Fritz had trained invincible, as indeed it would have been against the same class of enemy as of yore; and they had no conception of the speed or certainty with which Napoleon could manoeuvre, nor of the momentum of his blow. While the French lived on the country and the soldier carried four days' rations in his haversack, the Prussians were delayed by feeding from their magazines. The French foot had the best, the Prussian the worst musket in Europe; in cavalry alone were they their enemy's equal. The French had the new division and corps organization—each body being complete and sufficient in itself; every Prussian brigade was controlled from headquarters. Napoleon could treat his divisions or corps as units; the Prussians' regiments were administrative but not fighting units. Napoleon's one order moved a corps of 20,000 men; the Prussians issued a score of orders for the same purpose. The emperor sent his instructions to his lieutenants, who remained with their commands; the Prussian generals were summoned to headquarters to receive them. Napoleon's one will was decisive; never ending councils of war delayed the Prussians. One army was perfected in the discipline of the march and battle, however prone to pillaging; the other was under severe discipline that held the men in check, but could not give the habit of war. In the one, the leaders were mostly over sixty; in the other mostly under forty. When they met, with Napoleon leading the French, there could be but one result.

In 1806 the Prussians made many mistakes, Napoleon made few. "No general, however great, escapes errors. The greatest is he who makes the fewest." From the opening move to the end of the pursuit, it was one of Napoleon's masterpieces. The last of the Prussian army to surrender was gallant Blücher, who insisted on writing at the end of the document: "I capitulate because I have neither bread nor ammu-

nition." He lived to win a revenge game at Waterloo. Of all this the book treats intelligently.

Soldiers no longer monopolize military history. Of this Messrs. Ropes and O'Connor Morris were proof. Mr. Petre's style is direct and clear. He understands his authorities, relying mainly on Foucart, Hoepfner, Montbé, Lettow-Vorbeck, and the *Correspondence*. There are of course hundreds of other writers on 1806. At times he compares the authorities to advantage. His topographical descriptions are good—the comparison of the field of Jena to Dorking being certainly original. There is a short chapter on the Strategy and Tactics of the campaign, several plans and maps, and a number of portraits of the distinguished actors, mostly from Mr. Broadley's collection. The manufacture of the book is admirable. Taken together Mr. Petre has contributed two good volumes to military history.

THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE.

L'Élaboration de la Charte Constitutionnelle de 1814 (1er Avril–4 Juin 1814). Par PIERRE SIMON, Licencié-ès-lettres. (Paris: Édouard Cornély et Cie. 1906. Pp. 181.)

INCLUDING the critical apparatus this valuable and interesting monograph, executed in the best French manner, may be described as falling into three parts, a description of the sources utilized, a narrative of the events which shape the formulation and promulgation of the charter, and a critical study of the text of that document.

The bibliography is altogether admirable. In organization, critical spirit, and exact description of the sources, it leaves little to be desired. The manuscript material drawn from the Archives Nationales and the archives of the ministry of foreign affairs is considerable in amount and value. A collection of documents upon the charter deposited at the Archives Nationales by the minister of justice in June, 1905, the papers of Beugnot, the *procès-verbaux* of the Senate, and the police bulletin of the period, are perhaps the most important. Since the newspapers of the day were but few in number and of slight value, while the numerous pamphlets are of use only to reflect public opinion, the author has been compelled to resort for his narrative of events principally to the memoirs of the leading participants, controlling them wherever possible by the use of strictly contemporaneous materials. In this way a cautious and discriminating use has been made of about all the memoirs of the time, especially those of Vitrolles, Beugnot, and Ferrand.

The narrative of the course of events which produced the charter is related from the constitutional standpoint alone and is confined almost exclusively to the period between the arrival of the allies at Paris and the promulgation of the charter two months later. In the main, it is a development of the thesis that at the overthrow of Napoleon there was a strong likelihood that the Bourbons would be forced to accept the decidedly liberal constitution formulated by the Senate and supported by Czar Alexander, but that the situation underwent the gradual change,

whereby Louis XVIII. was enabled to impose upon the nation a constitution of a very different sort and much more to his own liking. This transformation was due principally to the unpopularity incurred by the Senate on account of the attempt to secure in its constitution the selfish interest of its own members, the influence of England, and the shrewd policy of Louis XVIII.

The critical study of the text of the charter is devoted largely to the origin of its general principles and particular provisions and to the process of its formulation. Its general principles may be discovered in a series of public declarations made by Louis XVIII. or his representatives during the early months of 1814, while the origin of the individual articles is to be found in nearly every instance in one or another of the revolutionary or Napoleonic constitutions. The document was formulated in great haste by a commission of twenty-two members appointed by the king and the entire work was executed behind closed doors in less than a week.

The author's conclusions, both for the thesis and incidental points, are in general so carefully drawn that they carry full conviction. An exception must be noted, however, as to the authorship of the declaration of Saint Ouen. In opposition to Ferrand, Hyde de Neuville, Barante, and Talleyrand, affirming that it was the personal work of the king, he supports the pretensions of Vitrolles and La Maisonfort, who claim to have been its real authors. The argument consists of a comparison of the declaration with documents of which Vitrolles and La Maisonfort were the authors and ingenious inferences based upon incidents related in the memoirs of Ferrand and Talleyrand. But the similarity of the documents seems exaggerated, and, so far as it exists, may be otherwise accounted for, while equally plausible inferences but to an opposite effect may be drawn from the incidents in question.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

The Cambridge Modern History. Planned by the late Lord ACTON, LL.D., Regius Professor of Modern History. Edited by A. W. WARD, Litt.D., G. W. PROTHERO, Litt.D., and STANLEY LEATHES, M.A. Volume X. *The Restoration.* (London: Macmillan and Company; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xxix, 936.)

WITH its tenth volume the Cambridge Modern History enters fairly upon the nineteenth century, for this volume covers, however unequally, the history of Europe from about 1815 to about 1847. Unequally, one observes, since much material is included here which bears no immediate relation to the period under discussion. The chapter on English literature, for instance, begins with the end of the seventeenth century, that on German literature at about the year 1740. The chapters on Spanish

America take up the story somewhere in the sixteenth century and end with 1830. Those on Russia and Poland practically conclude with 1832 and the account of Catholic Emancipation opens with a description of the anti-Catholic legislation throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For this, the monographic character of the general plan of the series is responsible. And, excellent as that plan is in some respects, the reader of the present volume is apt to derive a certain impression of loose ends, not conveniently included elsewhere, being gathered up here. In this, as in other respects, the contrast is naturally made with the corresponding volume of the *Histoire Générale*, which covers precisely the same period. The obvious comparison cannot better be shown than by giving a list of the contents of the present volume. This, moreover, affords an excellent index of the nature of the book and sheds much light on the plans and ideas of the editors. The Congress of Vienna and the settlements of 1815 having been treated in the preceding volume on Napoleon, the Restoration naturally opens with a chapter on the Congresses, by Mr. W. A. Phillips. This is followed by Lady Blennerhassett's study of the Doctrinaires. Then come chapters on France (1815–1830) and Italy (1815–1847) respectively, by Professor Bourgeois and Professor Segré. Chapter v., also from the pen of Lady Blennerhassett, treats of the papacy and the Catholic Church. This is followed by a group of chapters on southern Europe and South America, Greece by Mr. Phillips, Spain by Professor Altamira, two chapters on Spanish America by Mr. Kirkpatrick, and one on Brazil and Portugal by Mr. Edmundson. Then, turning to central and eastern Europe Professor Pollard writes of the Germanic Confederation, Professor Robinson of Germanic literature, Professor Askenazy of Russia and of Poland. Returning to the West, Professor Bourgeois continues his history of France with a chapter on the Orleans Monarchy, and Mr. Edmundson contributes an account of the Low Countries. After another digression to the East, Mehemet Ali, by Mr. Phillips, the rest of the volume is almost entirely taken up with England and things English; Great Britain, 1815–1832, by Mr. Temperley, Catholic Emancipation by Mr. Davis, Great Britain and Ireland (1832–1841) by Mr. Gooch, Canada by Mr. Benians, the Revolution in English poetry and fiction by Mr. Courthope, Economic Change (European as well as English in this case) by Professor Clapham, and the British Economists by Professor Nicholson, in all rather more than a fourth of the book. It will be observed from this that the volume differs from its French prototype in several important particulars aside from the general difference in plan. We find here nothing on Switzerland, on Asia, not even India, nor on any English colonies or dependencies, save Canada. Apart from these and many matters of detail, the more obvious divisions in the respective volumes naturally parallel each other very closely. The balance of unity and logic certainly lie on the side of the *Histoire Générale*. And in view

of the great importance of colonial development in these years it seems a misfortune that no chapter on the British Empire as a whole appears in this volume, and that neither Australia nor South Africa have yet been discovered by the editors. Doubtless the next instalment will include both. The strong insistence on the idea of complete monographs against which criticism of a general history has been directed has another disadvantage apart from those mentioned. It prevents any fair survey of international relations, save in separate chapters. In the present volume no such survey exists outside the first discussion of the Congresses, which is inadequate after about 1823. A further general criticism may be lodged, not in this case against the editors but against no small number of contributors. There is not enough action in the book. It is not merely that the stress is laid almost wholly on the political side, in the historical articles proper. A good deal of the history here set down follows a tendency now prominent in many quarters, which is, in its place, both of interest and importance, the tendency to consider history as a sort of descriptive political science, by laying great stress on the minute study of past institutions. It is not difficult to elaborate lists of extinct offices and officials, and to describe various executive, legislative, and judicial bodies, with their constitution and duties. But it is not very illuminating, and it is not at all enlivening. The number of deputies in the Polish Parliament, the statistical account of the Russian administration in 1815, are valuable and important. But we should be glad to sacrifice some of the space given to these matters to learn what sort of men these were and what they did. We should be glad to sacrifice some of the long and not very interesting account of Russian administration for instance to that very vital and important phase of Russian activity at this time, war and expansion. It is perhaps too much to hope that any account of Germany during the period of the Germanic Confederation should have human interest so long as one's mind is fixed entirely on its moribund political institutions. And we shall probably never recover from that tendency to write the history of Spanish America wholly from the New Laws, the edicts and statutes of the Council, and the criminal records. But the application of some such method as that used by Professor Clapham in his admirable account of Economic Change to these subjects would give us much to hope for, especially if there could be added to it, on the political and institutional side, the clearness and vigor, the judicious omission and compression of Professor Bourgeois. It is not possible within the limits of a brief review to enter into the many points raised in such a large and various volume, composed of so many parts of such unequal merit. One may be permitted to add to the list of errata glori*ous* (504), ban[d] (549), parliament[a]ry (579), *a* Cortes (282), titan[t]ic (169), Laibac[k]*h* (183), Tre*i*tschke (352), Nuncio (159) *re*covered (614); and to note that General Duphot was killed in 1797 [December 27] not in 1798 (132), that New Harmony is in Indiana not

Pennsylvania (780); that the Adelfi could not have had 40,000 members in the *city* of Lecce (111), and to object to such locutions as "dilatory threads of diplomacy" (195), "far-going" (144), "liberally minded" (409), "Facing as he did both ways at once and endowed with a dignified stature and all the physical qualifications for power" (487). It is unfortunate there is no space here to consider many statements and views here set forth in detail. Among these may be noted especially the unusually favorable opinion of Louis Philippe, the accounts of Russian government in Poland, and Spanish rule in South America, the share of Americans in the Spanish revolutions, the "transparent honesty" of Castlereagh at Vienna, the opinions of "William Gladstone" on the Italian situation. Many are new, and interesting. On the whole we may conclude that the volume is, in some respects, a distinct contribution to the literature of the subject in English, and in spite of the defects natural to such a work, is likely to prove very useful for many purposes. This usefulness is greatly increased by the bibliographies and the index. Some of the former would have been improved by including certain items in the corresponding section of the *Histoire Générale*, but in many cases this bibliography is at once more complete as, of course, more recent than its predecessor. Two points attract attention. The first is the curious circumstance that while the bibliography of these thirty-two or three years covers 108 pages, the bibliography to volume IV., the Thirty Years' War covers 147 pages. The second is the omission of many translations of books by foreign authors into English. Among these one may note Professor Macvane's translation of Seignobos's *Histoire Politique de l'Europe contemporaine*, and the English version of Mitré's *Historia de San Martin*. Incidentally one is surprised not to find Professor Bourne's *Spain in America* listed here. The index, in so far as it has been possible to test it, seems good. It is, however, an index *nominum* only. But for any guide through such a vast accumulation of facts we must be truly thankful, since in the end such a series must remain, at best, a species of encyclopedia of history, to be consulted often, to be read, never.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

Il Risorgimento Italiano e l'Azione d'un Patriota, Cospiratore e Soldato. Da MICHELE ROSI. (Roma-Torino: Casa Editrice Nazionale. 1906. Pp. 473.)

UNDER this mystifying title Signor Rosi writes the biography of Antonio Mordini, one of the secondary figures in the Risorgimento, who had, nevertheless, intimate relations with some of the chief actors and was so closely concerned in several important events that he is not a negligible quantity. Born in 1819 at Barga, Tuscany, of upper class parentage, he was early seized with the desire to rid Italy of despotism, became a republican and took part in the ineffectual plotting between 1845 and 1848. When the Revolution came, he hurried north

to enlist in the War of Independence, fought and conspired by turns at Venice, and on being expelled from that city, he went back to Florence. There he was one of the Radicals who hastened the collapse of the Grand-duke's government and set up the Democratic régime in which, from February to April, 1849, he was Minister of Foreign Affairs. On Leopold's restoration, Mordini went into exile, which he spent mostly in Piedmont. He gave his energy to conspiracies, very circumspectly, and with an increasing tendency towards conservatism: so that, even before the war of 1859, he had detached himself from Mazzini and the irreconcilable doctrinaires to join Garibaldi and the party whose motto was "First free and unite Italy, and then decide whether the Government shall be monarchical or republican."

Mordini followed Garibaldi to Sicily in 1860, was appointed president of the council of war at Palermo, and from September to December he held the most important and most ungrateful office of prodictator of Sicily. Thenceforward, he sat as a Garibaldian deputy in Parliament, was arrested for complicity in the Aspromonte fiasco, and upon his release busied himself with new intrigues. By 1866 he had grown more moderate. Drawing away from the Extreme Left, he was minister of public works, then vice-president of the Chamber, and on November 28, 1870, he presided over the first session of the Italian deputies in Rome. Thenceforward, except for four years (1872–1876) when he served as prefect at Naples, his political activity slackened. But he led a busy life, and died full of honors in 1902.

From this summary, the reader will understand Mordini's contacts with the Risorgimento, and, consequently what historical material to look for in his biography. The points on which Signor Rosi has thrown important light are the Tuscan Democracy in 1848–1849; the conspiracies of the Party of Action, 1849–1859; the Sicilian Expedition, and particularly the provisional dictatorship; the Garibaldians' policy in Parliament and their schemes outside from 1861 to 1866. Signor Rosi writes a plain, unvarnished tale. His multitude of facts could be more easily grasped if they were occasionally fused into a more fluent narrative, instead of appearing like items, more or less related to each other, in a long inventory. The sixty-eight documents which he prints comprise many valuable letters from Mazzini, Modena, Pepe, Bertini, Crispi, Amari, Saffi, Ricasoli, and Kossuth, besides Mordini's own. In more than one instance they contain material which will be a primary source for future historians: as, for instance, Mordini's account of the meeting of Victor Emanuel and Garibaldi at Capua and their reception at Naples. Signor Rosi is a careful editor, scrupulously sober in his statements, and loyal to his subject. He promises to issue before long other studies on the Party of Action—the field which he has made his specialty. As this is the side of the Risorgimento about which (if we except the Vatican) the fewest authentic works exist, every addition to our knowledge is doubly welcome.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

The Campaign of Magenta and Solferino (1859). By Colonel H. C. WYLLY, C.B. [Special Campaign Series, No. 4.] (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Company; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xvi, 237.)

COLONEL WYLLY gives with scarcely a superfluous word a well digested account of what has been called this "short and brilliant but lucky campaign" in which France and Sardinia in five weeks of actual hostilities broke the power of Austria. Space forbids more than the briefest selection of instructive points to be noted. The story embraces the battles of Magenta and Solferino, with the three combats of Montebello, Palestro, and Melignano. The theatre of battle was the valley of the Po, and the commanders were the French emperor, Napoleon III., with General La Marmora commanding the Sardinian divisions, and the Austrian Count Gyulai.

The war became inevitable on January 1, 1859, when Napoleon said to the Austrian ambassador at his official reception, "Je regrette que les relations entre nous soient si mauvaises." On April 23 Austria demanded that Piedmont should agree to disarm within three days, which ultimatum was rejected.

The French soon concentrated 105,911 men with 264 guns supported by 56,629 Sardinians and Italians with ninety guns, a total of 162,540 men with 354 guns. The French were all regular troops and were organized in five corps. The Sardinians were organized in five divisions, largely composed of new troops. The Austrian army was at first composed of 160,000 men with 442 guns, organized in seven corps. Both sides were armed with rifles, about equivalent to our Springfield rifled musket, of calibre 58, and their artillery was, like ours in the Civil War, a mixture of smooth bores and rifles. The country is described as one closely cultivated—vines, corn, and rice, intersected by many irrigation channels. It was like one vast orchard, planted closely with young fruit trees impeding the view in every direction. Villages were numerous, and each one had its cemetery beside it—square enclosures with stone walls, eight to fifteen feet high, entered by iron gates with grated openings on each side. Roads were of three classes, postal, provincial, and communal, the first excellent, the second good, the last impassable in bad weather.

As the Austrians were nearest to the field they were first on the ground and had the privilege of initiating the offensive. On May 20 an Austrian, General Stadion, with six brigades of about 22,500 men, taken from four separate divisions, was sent to occupy Montebello, a village some twenty miles east of Alexandria. Here he was attacked and defeated by General Forey, with 8,400 men. Stadion was over cautious and did not engage his reserves, which all belonged to different corps. The French never lost the *morale* inspired by this action, but on May 30 crossed the Sessia river on the enemy's extreme right and

defeated him in the combat at Palestro, with the loss of seven guns and 2,118 men, the allies losing but 601, having made a surprise of their crossing. On June 4 the battle of Magenta was fought, the Austrians making the attack a day too soon, believing the enemy less concentrated than was the fact. They were defeated with the loss of 10,726 killed, wounded, and missing. The loss of the allies was but 4,586. The forces engaged and casualty percentages were: Austrians, 61,618 men, 176 guns. Loss 17.4 per cent. Allies, 48,090 men, 87 guns. Loss 9.5 per cent. Some of the fighting over the villages was very severe. The village of Ponta Vecchio was taken and retaken six times. Had the Austrians postponed their attack a single day, their superiority of force would have been 45,000 men and 296 guns.

After this battle the Austrians withdrew behind the Mincio river and reorganized and increased their army by two corps. Count Gyulai was superseded, and Count Wimpffen and Count Schlick commanded the two armies now formed, the Emperor of Austria coming to the field and taking supreme command. The French also added a sixth corps to their army, under Prince Napoleon, but it was not engaged in subsequent battles. At Melignano on June 8, before crossing the Mincio, the Austrians, retreating slowly from Magenta, were overtaken and lost 1,474 men, to 851 lost by the allies, in a very severe combat prolonged until ended by night and a violent rain-storm. It was an unnecessary fight on the part of Austria.

On June 23 Austria recrossed the Mincio and was defeated on the twenty-fourth at Solferino, which ended the campaign, an armistice being signed August 8, and the treaty of Villa Franca in November. Solferino brought together the largest forces assembled in Europe since the battle of Prague. Austria had on the field 189,648 men and 752 guns. Her casualties were 21,737 or 11.5 per cent. The French had 118,019 men and 432 guns; the Italians 55,584 men and 90 guns; casualties 17,191, or 10 per cent. The Austrians and French were organized in corps, the Italians in divisions, which were found objectionable as not favoring concentration. The allies captured two colors, thirty guns, and 6,000 prisoners, but made no pursuit. The Austrians had four generals wounded; the French five, of whom two died; and the Italians two, of whom one died.

It is suggestive of both Chancellorsville and the Wilderness to read of the rumored approach during the battle of certain "mythical men from Mantua". During our Civil War rumor played a similar part on both of those occasions. E. P. ALEXANDER.

A Historical Geography of the British Colonies. Volume VI. *Australasia.* By J. D. ROGERS. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1907. Pp. viii, 308, iv, 132.)

OPINION undoubtedly differs as to what constitutes a historical geography; indeed the question has already (AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW,

VII., p. 385) been raised with reference to an earlier volume of the series to which this book belongs. Mr. Rogers has followed the plan laid down by Mr. Lucas, the originator of the series. Thus part one deals with history and part two with geography; and, though physical features are from time to time referred to in the first half of the book, it may be questioned how far the author has a thorough appreciation of the full significance of the relations of geography and history. The book is, however, a useful compendium of the history and geography of the vast region with which it deals. There are furthermore, a number of suggestive statements as to certain aspects of physiographical influence on social and political development. For example the unusual river system of which the Murray and the Darling are the main parts is shown to have played a large role in the expansion of English settlements; and the dominance of Melbourne by means of the five chief routes which radiate from it is well brought out. Yet before the reader has finished the first few chapters of the historical section he must turn to the geographical section to discover, if possible, information which might better have been given at the start or by way of commentary.

The use of metaphors is frequent and these endeavors to relieve the monotony of compact narrative and description will not always meet with the approval of the reader. In this volume the bibliographies are no longer to be found at the end of each chapter; but a full apparatus of foot-notes may on the whole better satisfy the student. The maps though numerous should have been clearer.

The introductory chapters summarize the history of discovery in the Pacific to the close of the eighteenth century, some features of native life, and the plans for a colony at Botany Bay. There never was, by the way, a convict settlement at Botany Bay (p. 50). As a region at first settled by state aid the early Australian colonies only emerged from a period of socialism when natural resources tempted the industry and adventure of free immigrants and of the second generation. The pioneers of this second period by their bolder wandering and scattering settlements made possible the third epoch. This was marked by voluntary immigration, public loans, discovery and development of richer resources, and competition; all was closely connected with expansion. In the case of New Zealand the free individual preceded organized colonization and the native population played a larger role than in Australia or Tasmania. As for the island world to the north, the adventurer, the missionary, and international rivalry chiefly with France, but in more recent periods with Germany also, have all gone to make the New Pacific south of the equator. These matters are all treated in the first part. The second part deals in succession with the geography of the Pacific Islands, New Guinea, New Zealand, and Australia. Here the wealth of detail and the limits of this notice must restrain even a summary. As a whole the very abundance of fact will increase the value of the book as an epitome.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie du Japon. Par E. PAPINOT, M.A. (Tokyo: Sansaisha; Yokohama, etc.: Kelly and Walsh. [1906.] Pp. 992, and a supplementary pamphlet containing eleven maps.)

M. PAPINOT has selected his topics with remarkable erudition and wisdom, and defined them with wonderful accuracy and fairness, so that he has succeeded in giving to the world an indispensable cyclopaedia, the need of which has long been felt by every foreign student of Japan. The work must be a by-product of many years of hard study, on the author's part, of the history and geography of Japan, for it is no mere translation or abridgment of Japanese works made with the help of untrained natives, but evidently a compilation of the author's own notes accumulated from extensive sources and now carefully organized into the form of a dictionary. Every page seems to demonstrate the author's knowledge of the Japanese language, both spoken and written. Still more remarkable is the manifestly scholarly character of his information, it being difficult to discover in this volume traces of the undisciplined curiosity of the traveller or of the subjective thinking of the foreigner. Except in the remote suggestion of his Catholic feeling against Hideyoshi shown in the reference to his Christian persecution in 1597 (p. 823), the author is seldom betrayed by that subjectivity which seriously detracts from the value of so commendable a work as Chamberlain's *Things Japanese*, and which profoundly affects many books hitherto written on Japan by foreign writers.

The reviewer who looks for faults in this volume will be disappointed, for they, if any, can hardly be of serious character. The author might, for example, have been a little more reserved in his definitions of *agata* and *hanizva*, two of the moot questions of Japan's history and archaeology; *Bashō*, *Horinji*, and a few other topics might have been explained a little more fully at the expense of subjects of minor importance; the Sanskrit or other original name and a brief history of each Buddhist deity might have been inserted; and in his note on *Fujizvara Kamatari* the author shows a little confusion of Emperor Kōtoku with Naka-no-ōye.

I would object to one point regarding his adoption of the current system of Romanizing Japanese words, for in doing so he has been obliged to share the fault of the system that seems unpardonable. Every student of Japanese must know that, in their literary usage as well as in their history in China and Japan, though not in the way they are pronounced on the street by the largest number of people, the sonants of the *sh* and the *ch* sounds (and also of the *s* and the *ts* sounds) are essentially distinct from each other. The author, however, transliterates without distinction the former pair into *j*, and the latter into *z*.

The cuts, some three hundred in number, with which the work is copiously illustrated are of uneven value. An important revision might

be made in this matter if the author consulted material kept at the archives of the Historiographic Institute, Imperial University of Tokyo.

The historical introduction, the eighteen appendices and other supplementary matters are highly valuable. On the whole, the work stands high above all other works of the class written in European languages, and may with a little labor be revised to become as thoroughly a trustworthy book, as it is indispensable in its present edition.

K. Asakawa.

Japan. By David Murray, Ph.D., LL.D., Superintendent of Education in the Empire of Japan from 1873 to 1879. Revised edition. Supplementary chapters by Baron Kentaro Kaneko, LL.D. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1906. Pp. xii, 567.)

The new edition of Murray's *Japan* appears with two supplementary chapters on recent events by Mr. Albert White Vorse and two lectures on the "resources and ideals of modern Japan" by Baron K. Kaneko. The body of the book remains substantially the same as in the first edition published in 1894, even at which early time it contained errors which modern criticism had long discarded, and omitted important discoveries that had recently been made. This condition was perhaps inevitable from the author's inability, in spite of his residence in Japan between 1873 and 1879 as educational adviser, to read any of the large number of her historical sources. He was obliged to rely mainly on the articles in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan, and the English works on Japan by Chamberlain, Satow, Griffis, Rein, Dening, and others, the only complete translation of an original source being the *Kozhiki* rendered and annotated by Chamberlain. Dr. Murray was ignorant even of the identity of the *Nihongi* and the *Nihon-shoki* (p. 121). Any one who knows something of the great activity and the progress of the historical investigations in Japan will be disturbed to see in this book old forgotten errors and inaccuracies repeated, recently acquired knowledge disregarded, and new assumptions of the most uncritical nature stated as facts. Misstatements of familiar facts occur throughout the volume. The native reader is also told that his countrymen believed in legends and stories which he has seldom heard (pp. 20, 70, 122, 123, 130, 139, etc.). Although the author seems remarkably free from the ordinary prejudices of the foreign writer not reading Japanese, his unfortunate want of information has led him into occasional dogmas. He is, to take only two instances, led astray by his preconception as to the declining quality of the successive members of each line of feudal suzerains (pp. 150, 183, 321), and makes the assertion that the seclusion of Japan (*c.* 1640–1854) "was a great mistake" (p. 310). While he is a faithful recorder of legendary tales, as witness his stories of the mythical age (ch. II.), of the Empress Jingo (p. 74), of

Tokiwa and Yoshitsune (p. 136), and the like, he omits such cardinal facts of Japanese history as the Reform of 645, the establishment of feudal administration in 1186, the introduction at different times of various Buddhist sects and their profound influence on national life, the feudal moral code *bushido*, the revival of learning and the diffusion of education under the Tokugawa, the work of the late Count Katsu and of Fukuzawa, and the rise of political parties in the '80's of the last century. As for the institutional side of history, which many a reader would consider the most important, it will be looked for in vain in this volume.

Murray's *Japan* has in every way been superseded by Captain F. Brinkley's *Japan* in his *Oriental Series*. The former yet deserves a place in a popular library, however, for its comparative freedom from sentimental and moral judgment of the things narrated, as well as for its wealth of descriptive though uncritically presented data.

Mr. Vorse's two supplementary chapters on the constitution and the Chinese and Russian wars seem to possess singularly strong and weak points. The writer has dealt with the complex political questions of an active nation in a remarkably light spirit. One marvels to read that Ito once went abroad against the law of the land, that he organized a political party in the same year in which the Progressive party was born, and that the revision of the treaties made in 1894 was "one of the first fruits of the war" with China. It would be unnecessary to multiply these cases of evident error. Mr. Vorse has also the habit of not specifying the time and place of many an important event: "in September, 1875", for instance, "a Korean fort" was bombarded by "a Japanese war-vessel". This habit has unfortunately exposed his chapters to several possible errors of anachronism, even about so late and well-known an event as the peace conference held at Portsmouth. The reader needs to be cautioned frequently as to the discussion of the constitution by the writer, who has allowed himself even to speak in one breath of the emperor and his advisers, showing a habit of thought which would mislead one throughout the entire history of the political relations of Japan in one of its most vital points. From beginning to end no authorities are cited or criticized, so that the helpless reader is unable either to trust or to doubt the clear and simple statements with which the chapters abound. Mr. Vorse appears at his best in his narration of the events of the late war.

Baron Kaneko's two lectures cannot be said to deserve a place in a book of history. They are pleas of an advocate, as well as amenities of an envoy. Japan is good, Russia is evil; the Europeans are selfish, the Americans are enlightened. The civilization of Old Japan is compared favorably in a few brief sentences with that of Phoenicia, Carthage, Greece, and Rome—in the reverse order of these countries. "In other words, her civilization had just as sound and substantial foundation as that of any country on the map to-day", an assertion large

enough to be proved in one page (p. 475). Japan is "the savior of Europe" (p. 489), for her mission is "the occidentalizing of the East" (p. 490).

The critical reader of these pages will again and again be vexed by the question why there should be such a great disparity between the quality of an English book on Japanese history published in 1906 and that of English books on the history of any Western nation, and even a greater difference between the state of historical knowledge about Japan at home and that abroad, than there seems to exist between the scientific value of any of the text-books in Japanese secondary schools and that of the present work. Should he lament this state of things, or should he rejoice that even an impure knowledge of a long secluded nation is now accessible to the general public?

K. ASAKAWA.

British Malaya. An Account of the Origin and Progress of British Influence in Malaya. By Sir FRANK SWETTENHAM, K.C.M.G., late Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner for the Federated Malay States. (New York: John Lane Company. 1907. Pp. xi, 354.)

THE career of Sir Frank Swettenham as a colonial administrator under the British crown has differed in one important particular from that of almost every other official of high rank under the Colonial Office.

It is the usual custom to promote the higher officials from one colony to another; and a glance at the record of services at the end of the Colonial Office List discloses a very remarkable range of experience among those gentlemen who are now at the head of the various colonial governments. The system is exactly opposite to that followed in the Indian service, where as a rule each government servant spends the greater part of his official life in one of the great provinces of which the Indian Empire is composed.

Each method has its advantages—the colonial method in that by presenting a succession of new problems to the administrator it counteracts any tendency towards administrative lethargy; the Indian method being admirably suited to the special conditions which arise from the great differences of race and language to be observed in the various parts of the Indian Empire.

Sir Frank Swettenham entered the service of the British government in the Malay Peninsula in 1868, and from that time until his retirement in 1904 he was constantly associated with the Malay states and the Straits settlements, rising from the lowest grade in the civil service, that of cadet, to the highest posts in the British administration in that part of the world—the governorship of the Straits Settlements and the high commissionership of the Federated Malay States.

It may be doubted whether, with the exception of Lord Cromer and His Highness Sir Charles Brooke, Raja of Sarawak, there is living

to-day any Englishman whose personal influence has been as great as that of Sir Frank Swettenham in the control and development of a tropical dependency. He has paid a curious but perfectly natural penalty for his success, since the orderly and unexciting progress of the Malay Peninsula has afforded nothing which could attract public attention in England; and where others, who have had their dependencies devastated by war, famine, and pestilence, have seen their names become household words among civilized nations, Sir Frank Swettenham is perhaps best known as the author of those delightful volumes, *Malay Sketches*, *The Real Malay*, and *Unaddressed Letters*.

But if the task to which he devoted himself in the Malay Peninsula was one in which battle, murder, and sudden death played a small part it was not because such things were unknown to the native states, for few places in the world have been more rent by internal strife, more distraught by intrigue, but because when he came to fill posts of responsibility the years which he had given to the study of the Malay, his language, his thought, his customs, served him well, and his official acts were guided by a deep understanding of the native and tempered by a tolerant sympathy from his point of view.

Thus many things which in less skilful hands would have spelled war and rebellion were effected through mutual understanding; and the story of British Malay is the most notable record of peaceful reform of which colonial history bears witness, from Lord Clive's Plassey to Lord Kitchener's Omdurman. Were it not for our author's modesty he might well have allowed his volume to bear the legend of another great administrator—*Quorum magna pars fui*.

Not only is Sir Frank Swettenham's work practically unknown except to those who have made a particular study of colonial administration, but the country of which he writes is scarcely more familiar to the general reader than Chandernagore or the Shan States.

British Malay, however, is one of the most important, if not the most important, of British possessions in the tropics. It furnishes the world with three-quarters of its tin supply; its chief town, Singapore, is not only of supreme strategic importance, but is in the first rank of great seaports; its area is greater than that of Ceylon; its population is nearly twice that of New Zealand; its public revenue exceeds that of all the British possessions in the New World, exclusive of Canada; its foreign trade is greater than that of New South Wales and Queensland combined; and its shipping is more than twice as great in volume as that of the colony of Victoria.

From what humble beginnings all this arose; by what infinity of tact and discretion the Malay sultans were led to reform their governments; through what dangers and difficulties the pioneers of British rule in the Peninsula won their way to success; out of what chaos of disorder and misery the native administrations have been rescued; these matters are the burden of Sir Frank Swettenham's book.

The volume is one which should appeal in an extraordinary degree to American readers, for there is scarcely a page which does not present some problem or recount some incident which throws light upon the peculiar character of the Peninsular Malay, who is the first cousin of the Filipino.

This is not a volume of opinions formulated by an arm-chair traveller; it does not drag out its length with the unmeaning vaporings of an irresponsible critic who has never been called on to act in an emergency, and who knows that he is secure in his wildest suggestion since he will never have to stake his life on the feasibility of his proposed methods. It is a practical book written by a practical man who has had the safety and welfare of a million people in his hands and who has maintained that safety and fostered that welfare with conspicuous ability and success under every variety of good and evil fortune.

Although, of course, there is no point to point analogy between the affairs and conditions of the Malay Peninsula and those of the Philippine Islands, the similarity is close enough to lend the greatest value to the suggestive treatment by Sir Frank Swettenham of a large number of questions which are of pressing urgency in the Philippines—methods of taxation, labor supply, education, and the employment of natives in the government service, to name only a few.

The book is provided with an excellent map and is profusely illustrated.

ALLEYNE IRELAND.

Japanese Rule in Formosa. By YOSABURO TAKEKOSHI, Member of the Japanese Diet. With Preface by Baron SHIMPEI GOTO, Chief of the Civil Administration. Translated by GEORGE BRAITHWAITE. (London, New York, Bombay, and Calcutta: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1907. Pp. xv, 342.)

THIS volume gives an interesting account of Formosan affairs as they appear to a member of the Japanese Diet who visited the island on two occasions for the purpose of studying the effects of Japan's first undertaking in the line of colonial administration.

The authority of the volume is somewhat impaired by the insistence with which both the author and his sponsor (Baron Shimpei Goto, Chief of the Civil Administration of Formosa) explain that their object is to tell of Japanese successes. Baron Goto says in his Preface ". . . for my country's sake I cannot forbear giving to the world the story of our success. . . . We have, it is true, emerged victorious from the recent war, but the world still doubts our colonizing ability. I have been very glad, therefore, to write this Preface, believing that these pages will prove instrumental in removing these doubts. . . ."

The author in turn takes the reader into his confidence in his preface. He speaks of the responsibility of colonizing unopened portions of the globe, and continues—"Some people, however, are inclined to

question whether we possess the ability requisite for such a task. I felt that these would doubt no longer, could they but read the account of our successes in Formosa. With this idea I twice visited the island. . . ."

This is admirable as patriotism; but it inflicts the student with an uncomfortable sense of special pleading.

The book presents, in fact, a singular juxtaposition of naïve impression, shrewd insight, and quick observation.

The author describes a trial in one of the local appeal courts in which, the prisoner being a Formosan, the services of two interpreters were required; upon this Mr. Yosaburo Takekoshi makes the following comment—"When I read in Chinese history that in a certain case nine translations had been required, I began to realize what a vast country China was; and now that with my own eyes I saw the judge and the defendant sitting only one foot apart, yet speaking to each other through two interpreters, I was impressed with the greatness of our empire."

One of the most interesting portions of the book is that which describes the internal disorder which followed immediately upon the overthrow of Chinese authority in the island and the steps which were taken to reduce the island to a condition of peace and order. The account is vividly reminiscent of the early days of American rule in the Philippines. "The common people regarded them [the brigands and armed outlaws] as a sort of embryo Government who by a sudden turn of fortune's wheel might receive the reins of power. . . . The people without doubt hated their violence and cruelty, but they could not help at the same time admiring their bravery in the face of the Japanese. Again, they were well aware, that the brigands were more intimately acquainted with all their private affairs than the Government, with the result that everyone refused to give the officials any information as to the whereabouts of the brigands, keeping silence as the members of a secret society would do under similar circumstances."

The author describes the difficulty of distinguishing the brigands from the ordinary peaceful population and states, with unconscious humor, that the first necessity was "to ascertain exactly the strength and headquarters of the different bands, and, as far as possible, the names and addresses of those who composed them. . . ."

Where the author is not concerned to emphasize the success of his countrymen the volume is one of undoubted value, since it contains a great deal of information as to the administrative mechanism of the government, which is not available in other works on the island. Of special value and suggestiveness are the chapters on Land Tenure, Police Administration, and the Opium Monopoly. The account of the Opium Monopoly is of particular interest to Americans for, in the opinion of the committee appointed by the Philippine Commission to investigate the use of opium and the traffic therein, the Japanese in Formosa had

come nearer to a successful handling of the problem than any other of the great powers having dependencies in the Far East.

Mr. Yosaburo Takekoshi's volume is provided with a good map and an excellent bibliography; but it is much to be regretted that the book has no index.

The author shows some familiarity with the general literature of colonial administration; but one detects here and there an inaccuracy which could have been avoided. For instance the title of James Anthony Froude's well-known work was not *The History of English Colonization in the West Indies* but *The English in the West Indies: or the Bow of Ulysses*; the name of the distinguished chief justice of Barbados was not Sir Conrad *Leaver* but Sir Conrad *Reeves*; and the Christian name of the writer of this review is not *Allen*, but *Alleyne*.

ALLEYNE IRELAND.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1902–1903). *Games of the North American Indians.* By STEWART CULIN. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1907. Pp. xl, 846.)

THE only original contribution accompanying the *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* is an extended paper upon American Indian games. It is a bulky article of more than eight hundred pages, profusely illustrated with representations of games in progress and of the implements used in them. Mr. Culin has long been the chief American student of games. Almost twenty years ago he presented a paper upon the Street Games of Brooklyn Boys before the American Folk-Lore Society. This was followed by studies of Chinese games, the material investigated being found among Chinese immigrants in this country. In 1893 Mr. Culin exhibited a great collection of games from all parts of the world at the Chicago Exposition. This attracted much attention but its real chief importance was the new trend which it gave to his own studies. For it was through this exhibit that he came into direct contact with Korean games and gained certain hints regarding the games of our own Southwest from Frank Hamilton Cushing, the devoted student of Pueblo Indian life. The fact that games are related to religious ceremonial, that they exemplify notions of cosmogony and philosophy, and that they contain a large magical element, was there first appreciated and became the dominant idea in Mr. Culin's work thereafter. A beautiful book upon Korean games was an immediate result. As a consequence of his collaboration with Mr. Cushing a collection of games was sent by Mr. Culin to the International and Cotton States Exposition at Atlanta in 1895. The publication of the catalogue of this exhibit in the *Annual Report of the United States National*

Museum for 1896 showed the importance of the subject and developed a wide interest in the study of American Indian games. In 1902, at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, Mr. Culin displayed, as part of the exhibit of the University of Pennsylvania, a synoptic collection of American Indian games which, in conception, arrangement, and instruction value, was a model of what an ethnographic exhibit in such an exposition should be. And now, in the volume before us, Mr. Culin presents the results of his many years of work in this field.

Our author confines his attention to games requiring the use of implements. And, of games requiring implements in their play, the so-called games of chance are the most important. Far from their being of trifling significance, mere pastimes, such games are, in their beginnings, serious affairs. They had both a devotional aspect and divinatory meaning. They often form a part of the great annual ceremonies and fasting, purification and prayer were the preparation for their playing. The outcome was dependent upon the will of divine beings. Questions of vital importance were left to their decision.

Mr. Culin recognizes two chief classes of American Indian games: I. Games of Chance; II. Games of Dexterity. He asserts that games of pure skill and calculation are lacking among our tribes. The games to which his discussion is chiefly devoted may be tabulated as follows:

- I. Chance
  - Dice games
  - Guessing games
- II. Dexterity
  - Archery
  - Sliding sticks
  - Ring and javelin
  - Ball

Each of these is divided into several well-marked types: thus, the dice games are two—(a) where the dice are thrown directly from the hand, and (b) where they are shaken upon a bowl, dish, or platter and thrown up into the air. All of these various types are presented with an enormous amount of detail and illustration. Mr. Culin emphasizes the uniformity of American games through the whole continent and appears to consider the southwestern part of the United States as a centre of origination and dissemination. Our space does not admit of quotation of the author's argument but we present his summary of conclusions, slightly abbreviated.

(1) These games may be classified into a small number of related groups.

(2) Morphologically, they are identical and universal among all the tribes.

(3) They are ritual or have descended from religious ceremonial observances.

(4) Their identity and unity are shared by the myths with which they are associated.

(5) While often now mere gambling, they are still often, propitiatory, magical, and beneficent.

(6) They agree with widespread ceremonial observances found in other continents, which in their oldest and primitive forms are almost exclusively divinatory.

Lack of space prevents consideration of these conclusions. With no desire to criticize what is a discussion of great value and interest, we regret two features in the author's treatment: (1) That he groups his detailed matter regarding the games alphabetically under linguistic stocks. It may be that striking similarities may force us to admit the identity and universality stated in the second conclusion. There are, however, interesting local variations, the fact and the force of which are at least obscured by an alphabetical arrangement. Thus, the ring and javelin game may be one everywhere, but the netted ring of the Arapaho, the simple hoop of the Onondaga, and the bark ring of the Makahs are types of well-marked local forms that deserve emphasis. (2) That no distributional maps are introduced. If they were, the interesting and suggestive local developments just mentioned could be appreciated even if the alphabetical arrangement were retained. We believe that a combination of geographical treatment and map illustration would have improved Mr. Culin's paper and have given the basis for a more thoughtful and discriminating judgment on the part of the reader.

FREDERICK STARR.

Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound. Portraits and Biographies of the Men Honored in the Naming of Geographic Features of Northwestern America. By EDMOND S. MEANY, Professor of History, University of Washington. (New York, London: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. xvii, 344.)

THE author's work seems more properly that of an editor. The chief purpose is suggested in the second part of the title and announced in the introductory chapter. It is "to explain the meaning of geographic names in use" on the Northwest Coast. The first four chapters, pp. 1–60, and numerous lengthy biographical foot-notes throughout the rest of the book carry out this purpose. The remaining pages are occupied by a reproduction of pages 33–385 of the second volume of Vancouver's *Voyage* (ed. 1801). The numerous, excellent full-page illustrations give the book a very pleasing appearance.

In the main the work is trustworthy. If it had been well done it would have been of large value, especially to people who live in the Northwest or travel there. As it is it will doubtless be very interesting to many, and have a large sale, locally. Commendable diligence is shown in some things, notably in the collection of portraits, though, unfortunately, a woeful lack of it in others.

If the portion of Vancouver's *Voyage* had been faithfully reproduced it would require no comment in this review. But there are numerous errors in copying (changes, omissions, and insertions) which should have been corrected in proof-reading. In fifty-eight pages which the reviewer carefully compared with the original, twenty such errors were observed, besides numerous changes in form, such as in the use of italics, in changing obsolete spellings to current, and in breaking single paragraphs into two. If these changes in form were consistent and explained, they might be excusable.

The high-sounding preface contains much that it should not. Some of the introductory chapters should have been in the preface. Throughout the editor's own portion there are awkward sentences which often obscure the sense and reveal a lack of careful scholarship. Witness this from page 5: "Because he celebrated Restoration Day gave rise to Restoration Point, and because he took possession of the land for his King caused the christening of Possession Sound." Lack of proportion and inability to subordinate or eliminate minor details are everywhere noticeable. See chapter two, where in a fourteen-page biography of Vancouver two pages are given to an entertaining but almost wholly irrelevant sketch of Thomas Pitt. See also the note on New Dungeness, page 79—a curious collection of heterogeneous and irrelevant information. Chapter three, entitled "Historic Nootka Sound" reveals only very slight familiarity with the literature of the subject. The so-called "Life of Bodega y Quadra", chapter four, is largely taken up in telling how little is known about him, and in rehearsing the editor's very slightly rewarded efforts to learn more.

Of thirty or forty important biographical sketches the majority seem to have been taken almost bodily out of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, some slightly, others very much condensed. In the preface the editor suggests indirectly that "the *Dictionary of National Biography* has been of immense help", and in a few foot-notes it is mentioned; but nowhere does he indicate the extent to which he has leaned upon it. Passages quoted in the *Dictionary of National Biography* from other authorities are here repeated as though the editor had taken them directly from their original sources. *Cf.* p. 97, where there are two such quotations, both containing almost unmistakable evidence that they were copied from the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The sketches are, of course, true to fact, barring some blunders in copying.

WILLIAM R. MANNING.

Life and Letters of Charles Russell Lowell. By EDWARD W. EMERSON. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1907. Pp. viii, 499.)

THIS book has the handicap of not appearing until forty-three years after the time when it might naturally have been expected; and yet,

if the world would only think so, such a record of high living possesses all the charm it ever had. The hero perhaps becomes more interesting when viewed through such a perspective of years.

Charles Russell Lowell, first scholar of the Harvard class of 1854, was graduated at nineteen, and on Commencement Day, closing his books, gave himself to affairs. This course, singular in one so scholarly, was perhaps due to delicate health. A hemorrhage drove him from business to travel, during which, while recovering strength, he also learned languages and men, and became a practised horseman. He went at once to Washington after the assault on Sumter, and being commissioned a captain in the Sixth Regular Cavalry, showed much military aptitude. Being sent West to recruit he picked up in an Ohio village a crude back-country boy, Adna R. Chaffee, out of whom was evolved the lieutenant-general; and among the many tributes to Lowell which are given not one is warmer than that of General Chaffee to the man who gave him his first training. Lowell went through the Peninsula campaign with his regiment, and at Antietam was an aide of McClellan. His service was distinguished, and he was made colonel of the Second Massachusetts Cavalry. Assigned to the protection of Washington, he missed Chancellorsville and Gettysburg; but being pitted for many months especially against Mosby, he and his men developed great effectiveness in the best school for troopers.

In August 1864 Lowell emerged into a more conspicuous and probably less harassing field. He was set to command a fine brigade under Sheridan, in whose Shenandoah campaign no one did more or better. He knew neither fatigue nor fear. He was always at the front; his clothing was riddled, his scabbard was shattered, thirteen horses were shot under him. Nor in the field was his courage any more evident than his intellectual equipment—poise, judgment, decision. Long unscathed, his fate overtook him at Cedar Creek, where having baffled the advancing enemy he fell at the moment when the tide turned. Said Sheridan, who had a refined sensibility not always appreciated: "I do not think there was a quality I could have added to him. He was the perfection of a man and of a soldier." Had Lowell survived it was Sheridan's intention to make him his chief of cavalry.

While Mr. Emerson's intense admiration for his hero is very plain he writes always with restraint, good taste, and the best judgment. The sketch of Lowell's life is followed by a selection from his letters so clearly and fully annotated that the hero and his environment are very distinct. The letters could not be more unstudied and unassuming, yet they are marked now by pleasant wit, now by fine scholarship, now by discriminating estimates of men and events, now by all the finer affections. The Lowell quality is evident, and the reader comes to believe that had the soldier chosen to wield instead of the sword the mightier weapon, he too might have been a critic, apart, and greatly accomplished. Nor is it the least of the merits of this book that

through it one comes into close touch with a remarkable group, the men and women whom he especially cherished, Robert Gould Shaw, John M. Forbes, and Henry Lee Higginson, his intimate friends, Mrs. Anne Jackson Lowell, his mother, and Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, his wife.

J. K. HOSMER.

Military Memoirs of a Confederate. A Critical Narrative. By E. P. ALEXANDER. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1907. Pp. xviii, 634.)

THE author of this work is an educated soldier, a gradute of West Point, had much experience in the field before the Civil War, served in the Confederate army, most of the time under Longstreet, and had exceptional opportunities to acquaint himself with inside facts, all of which, added to his fairness, qualified him to write a critical narrative of the campaigns of the Army of Northern Virginia. He criticises alike Confederate friend and Federal foe, the justice of which, in some cases, may be disputed, but the good temper shown must be conceded.

He errs in throwing upon Patterson the entire blame for permitting Joseph E. Johnston to join Beauregard at Manassas, when General Scott should share the censure. He criticises the slowness, irresolution, and strategy of McDowell in the Bull Run campaign of July, 1861; holds that on the field his tactics were "poor and timid", and apparently adopts the view that a vigorous pursuit by 5,000 fresh Confederates of the panic-stricken Federals would have taken Washington next day, and that the fruits of victory were thrown away because Jefferson Davis and the two generals spent the few hours of remaining daylight in aimlessly riding over the battlefield.

General Huger has been held responsible for Confederate failure at Seven Pines, May 31, 1862; Alexander relieves him of that long borne burden and puts it on the shoulders of Johnston and Longstreet, saying of the first that "his efforts to handle the army in battle had been an utter failure", and his serious wounding on the field a distinct gain to the Confederate cause, as it brought General Lee to the front, and greatly increased the chances of a successful campaign against McClellan. Yet the first campaign conducted by Lee was marked by many grave errors, the first of which was in sending Stuart, June 11, 1862, on a reconnoissance to McClellan's rear, thus putting him on his guard and causing him to prepare for a change of base to James River. Lee permitted his lieutenants to open the battle of Mechanicsville or Beaver Dam before Jackson had come within supporting distance, and threw small detachments against the strongest parts of the Federal line, only to be bloodily repulsed, giving Longstreet an opportunity to write, "Next to Malvern Hill the sacrifice at Beaver Dam was unequaled in demoralization during the entire summer." At Gaines's Mill the battle seems to have been left in the hands of the division commanders until

it was nearly lost, and only at the last moment did Lee make his presence felt, and it was then too late to destroy Porter's corps. Lee's pursuit of McClellan is open to criticism, and his ill-advised order to attack at Malvern Hill brought upon him a terrible repulse; but here our critic has light censure. Jackson is justly criticised for his part in the Peninsular campaign. He failed to come up in time at Beaver Dam; he was so tardy at Gaines's Mill that not more than half a Confederate victory was won, when Porter should have been annihilated; he dawdled before Franklin's position at White Oak Creek crossing, losing an entire day; he took no initiative at Malvern Hill, and "had he been the Jackson of the Valley . . . he would have turned Malvern Hill by the left and taken position commanding the road somewhere beyond Turkey Creek". His ardent admirers excuse him on the ground of physical exhaustion due to the excessive labor of previous days, but our critic cites evidence to show that he was not disposed to expose his own men, but would be content to have others do the fighting, and gives a camp rumor that Jackson had said he "did not intend that his men should do all the fighting".

Of McClellan it is said that he was unfit for the command of an army; was wanting in "enterprise and audacity", and that the army fought better without him than with him, but it is admitted that he had no superior in organizing an army to take the field.

In the campaign against Pope, culminating in the Second Manassas, Alexander commends the audacity of Lee, gives some censure to Pope, part of which should have been directed to Halleck, and believes that one of the best fruits of Confederate victory on the field of Manassas was the court-martial of Fitz-John Porter, an officer of the highest type, and his dismissal from the Federal service.

The result of the campaign gave the Confederates an opportunity to send one-half of Lee's army by railroad to Chattanooga to aid Bragg in his campaign in Kentucky. Alexander thinks that such a movement would have been a profitable utilization of "Interior Lines" and would have borne better fruit than an invasion of Maryland, but Lee thought otherwise and promptly crossed the Potomac to tempt fate. It would have been a disastrous step had McClellan showed enterprise. Lee's wide dispersion of his army is criticised, and his audacity in doing so admired. McClellan lost his campaign by not swiftly pushing his army through Crampton's Gap of South Mountain, where he should have gone in person. Of Antietam, or Sharpsburg, correctly characterized as "the boldest and the bloodiest battle ever fought upon this continent", our critic intimates that the Confederates were reinforced on the field by the actual presence of McClellan himself with his army, which he handled feebly, though the fighting of his men was superb. Lee's giving battle with the Potomac at his back is condemned; McClellan lost a great opportunity in not destroying him.

Of Burnside it is held that he began his campaign with a blunder

in not making Lee's army his objective, instead of a movement on Fredericksburg. Of his conduct of the battle of Fredericksburg, it is enough to say that he gave confused orders to Franklin on the left, and made a "fatal mistake" in assaulting Marye's Heights. His withdrawal in the face of a victorious enemy "was a great feat", reflecting badly upon the vigilance of the Confederates.

Hooker's strategy at the opening of the Chancellorsville campaign, by which he manoeuvred Lee out of Fredericksburg is commended, and, contrary to general opinion, he is justified in falling back to his intrenched line around Chancellorsville on the first day when he saw that Lee was in motion to attack him. Our critic comes to the relief of the men of the 11th corps, attacked as they were "no troops could have acted differently". The recall of Sickles on the morning of the second day from the Hazel Grove position is put down as a "fatal mistake" on Hooker's part, "there has rarely been a more gratuitous gift of a battlefield". The decision to recross the river was the mistake of Hooker's life.

The victory at Chancellorsville presented the Confederates an opportunity for the use of interior lines to relieve Vicksburg and recoup affairs in the West by sending a column to Knoxville or Chattanooga, and threaten Kentucky. Such a campaign had been suggested by Longstreet, and Lee recognized the possibility of its success, but decided upon an invasion of Pennsylvania, believing that a victory there would recall Federal troops from the West and thus relieve Vicksburg and keep Rosecrans on the defensive. Lee's first great blunder of the Gettysburg campaign was in making it at all, and the second was the disposition made of Stuart's cavalry. After the two armies had come in collision at Gettysburg and Lee had hammered Meade into his strong position, Longstreet proposed to move around Meade's left, force him from position, and make him fight at a disadvantage, but Lee determined to attack Meade next day in position. Alexander disposes of the unjust criticism that Longstreet failed to obey Lee's order to attack early on the second day; condemns Sickles's advance to the Peach Orchard and gives a soldier's appreciation of Meade's foresight and tactics in bringing troops from every part of his line to the threatened point, in these words, "There was not during the war a finer example of efficient command than that displayed by Meade on this occasion." He holds that the conduct of the battle by the Confederates on the second day was "conspicuously bad", and strongly censures Ewell. On the third day, failing to recognize the weakest point of Meade's line—Cemetery Hill—Lee ordered an assault on Meade's left centre, and its execution with a column of 15,000 men, led by Pickett, was left to Longstreet. Alexander, who was Longstreet's chief of artillery, was to silence Meade's artillery and prepare the way for the assault; he was also to determine the proper moment for Pickett to advance. Fully convinced of the hopelessness of the

assault Longstreet tried in vain to avert a useless slaughter, saying as he stood with Alexander among his guns, "I do not want to make this charge, I do not see how it can succeed. I would not make it now but that General Lee has ordered it and is expecting it." Pickett led his column forward, the result was as Longstreet feared, and Lee said to the fugitives as they came back, "It was my fault this time." The critics of Longstreet will get no consolation from the pages treating of Gettysburg. Alexander believes that had Meade sent forward at this time a single fresh Union corps, say the sixth, it would have cut the Confederate army in two, and adds: "It must be ever held a colossal mistake that Meade did not organize a counter-stroke as soon as he discovered that the Confederate attack had been repulsed. He lost here an opportunity as great as McClellan had at Sharpsburg." He lost a still greater opportunity when he failed to press Lee relentlessly on his retreat to the Potomac.

In the Wilderness campaign Lee displayed "masterly generalship", and our author thinks Grant would have been utterly destroyed on the first day but for the wounding of Longstreet. He credits Grant with having completely deceived Lee as to his whereabouts for three days after withdrawing from Cold Harbor, and admits that the crossing of the James was well planned and successfully conducted, and holds that the movement on Petersburg was the real crisis of the war.

Space does not permit a satisfactory review of this book; to be appreciated it must be read. It professes to be written particularly for military students, but will be found of great interest to the general reader. The narrative is clear and concise, praise is worthily bestowed and criticism generally well taken and temperate. To some of the extremely critical it will be disappointing, in that the maps are not as good and as full as they should be, and foot-notes are wanting to show the authority upon which some novel statements are made.

E. A. Carman.

Documentary History of Reconstruction. Volume II. By Walter L. Fleming, Ph.D., Professor of History in West Virginia University. (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1907. Pp. xiv, 480.)

In the April number the first volume of Professor Fleming's *Documentary History* was reviewed. The volume closed with the completion of legal Reconstruction by the restoration of the lately seceded states to their constitutional position in the Union and by the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the latter a fitting climax to the Congressional policy of Reconstruction. In the volume now under discussion it is intended to illustrate how this policy succeeded, to show it, no longer as a theory and an expedient of politicians, but in actual operation. Consequently the

documents in this volume convey a much clearer view of the realities of Reconstruction than did those of the former.

As regards the 338 documents themselves, their classification according to origin is interesting. There are seven state laws, nine federal laws, and six court decisions. Of the non-legal documents, 121 are from Southern Conservatives, thirty-six from Northern Conservatives, seventy-six from Southern Radicals, fifty-one from Northern Radicals, ten from Southern Unionists, five from Southern "Reform" Republicans, and seven from foreigners. Ten are unclassified. It will thus be seen that, in contrast to the former volume, a greater part of the material is of Southern origin.

The topics treated in the seven chapters which compose the book are as follows: The Union League, Carpetbag and Negro Rule, Educational Problems, Reconstruction in the Churches, Social and Industrial Conditions, The Ku Klux, and finally, the Undoing of Reconstruction. As in the former volume, the documents are rendered clearer and more valuable by editorial introductions to each chapter. These are exceedingly interesting and will be of great assistance to a correct interpretation of the documents. Each chapter has also a full bibliography which should prove very useful to the student of the period as reference is made by page to practically every work of value on the subject.

The material throughout is interesting and valuable, so much so, in fact, that it is difficult to make any discrimination in favor of certain chapters; but for general interest and information those concerning educational and religious matters and the one on the undoing of Reconstruction would seem the best. Most of the material relating to these subjects has hitherto been inaccessible to the general student and this fact enhances the value of these chapters.

The book has four illustrations, two of which seem especially worthy of mention. One is a photograph of sixty-five members of the famous, not to say infamous, South Carolina Legislature of 1868. The other is a group of North Carolina Ku Klux, particularly valuable at this time when, through fiction and melodrama, the public is being given an incorrect notion, not only of the costume but also of the very nature of the organization so potent in the overthrow of Reconstruction.

The book does not seem to admit of any special criticism. As was said of the former volume, it has the faults, though to an unusually small degree, of all such collections of historical documents. The two volumes will prove a valuable adjunct to teachers and students of our history, and the author is to be congratulated upon making such an addition to the works of reference upon the subject.

J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON.

Life and Letters of Edwin Lawrence Godkin. Two volumes. Edited by ROLLO OGDEN. (New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1907. Pp. 322; 278.)

To many Americans, who, as college students in the seventies and eighties of the last century, were forming standards of judgment concerning politics, literature, and art, these two volumes will seem like reminiscences of an old preceptor. For such students and their teachers the *Nation* was an oracle. Especially the first two or three pages of each issue, under the caption, the Week, contained expositions and criticisms of politics that, for force and humor combined, were unrivalled in this country. To what extent the acumen, the love of justice and honesty, the marvelous power of expression that characterized those pages and indeed the whole journal, were infused into it by Mr. Godkin alone, this biography will sufficiently testify.

In 1870 when the *Nation* was only five years old Mr. Godkin was tempted to abandon it in order to accept the offer of a professorship of history at Harvard. The chorus of protest must have been flattering to the editor. John Bigelow wrote from Germany, "Tell them to require each student to take a copy of the *Nation*. . . . why limit your pupils to hundreds which are now counted by thousands?" From Andover Theological Seminary Professor Moses Stuart Phelps wrote: "You are giving weekly lessons in history to hundreds of college graduates as well as under-graduates, and we cannot spare you." It was even so. When the English scholar and journalist, W. T. Arnold, told James Russell Lowell that the *Nation* was the best periodical in the world, the latter answered: "You are quite right, and the superiority is due to one man, Mr. E. L. Godkin, with whom I do not always agree, but whose ability, information, and unflinching integrity have made the *Nation* what it is. The paper is sometimes too good for the world, but very good it undoubtedly is, and the unvarying competence with which it treats question after question, and book after book, has made it a most valuable breakwater against the tepid wish-wash of incompetence which pours through the American press."

It is not often that a man of foreign birth and breeding can become in a decade the recognized spokesman for the most intelligent and scholarly sentiment in the country of his adoption. Such a distinction Mr. Godkin shares with Carl Schurz, a man of greater genius, but handicapped by a still more alien origin and training. Mr. Godkin's preliminary experience had been fortunate. A native of Ireland, of sturdy Cromwellian stock, the son of a Presbyterian minister, who was also an editor and controversial writer, he grew up in an atmosphere that sharpened perceptions. As Mr. Ogden says, "The original sin of journalism was fairly in his blood." His academic career was at Queen's College, Belfast, among his own people, so that when he went to London in 1851 to read law, he was filled with the political enthu-

siasms of the Irish leaders of 1848, whose chief party organ, curiously enough, was called the *Nation*. For the publishing house of Cassell, with which his father had been connected, he wrote a history of Hungary which had the Kossuth furore as its commercial source, but which served to crystallize its author's philosophy of democracy. His extraordinary facility in expression secured him an appointment with the *Daily News* as special field correspondent for the Crimean War. Liberal extracts from this correspondence prove that Mr. Godkin already possessed that singular power of visualizing events which was to make the columns of the *Nation* so vivid. They show also his felicity in winning the acquaintance and friendship of the best people.

His ideals of democracy led him to come to live in America in 1856. He became almost immediately the intimate friend of Frederic Law Olmsted, and of Professors Norton and Gurney at Cambridge, the élite of American aristocracy of culture. Still as correspondent of the *News*, Mr. Godkin travelled through the Southern states, and his descriptions of life among the slave-holders read like chapters from Olmsted's more famous *Journeys* in the same region. He practiced law a little, but journalism remained his chief occupation. During nine years, 1856–1865, he studied our people in the agonies of the greatest struggle in our history, and the latter half of the first volume is filled with the letters that embody his observations. In the columns of the *Daily News* he was the stalwart champion of the North, but his analysis of our defects was as keen as his defense of our ideals. As early as 1859 he noted "the curious mixture of rough English common sense and French excitability which enters into the American character. There seems to be pent up in the bosom of the public a supply of frantic enthusiasm which is constantly on the verge of explosion, and which does explode whenever it gets any reasonable excuse."

As early as 1863 Godkin, Olmsted, and Norton were discussing the possibility of establishing a high grade weekly. One of the eight chapters in the first volume (ch. VII.) tells the story of these first attempts and of the final fruition of their hopes. Nearly all of the second volume exhibits Mr. Godkin in the years of his militant editorship, first of the *Nation* alone, and after July 1, 1881, of the *Evening Post* and the *Nation* as its weekly edition, until his retirement in 1899. One seems to see the living man start up in these pages and to feel his warmth. Mr. Ogden has supplied only the necessary connections for the exchange of utterance between Godkin and his friends. The letters that passed between him and Olmsted, Norton, and Lowell are laid under heavy contribution, and there are few words that we would care to lose. One chapter shows Godkin the humorist, and he was famous for a Gargantuan laugh. Other chapters review his struggle for civil service reform, his fight against Blaine, and his warfare with Tammany. All these glimpses of the man illustrate what Mr. Howells called Godkin's "most uncommon gift of making serious inquiry attractive".

But the major part of both volumes is so arranged as to unroll a panorama of Mr. Godkin's pictorial analyses of men and things. By turns and altogether, it is thoughtful, humorous, brilliant, illuminating, and human.

It is unfortunate that the arrangement of the display is so defective. There is no table of contents and no outline of topics. The division into chapters might as well have been omitted, or else made to mean something. The index seems imperfect, and worst of all, the chronology of the story is ofttimes in a hopeless jumble. After one has shared the sorrow that fell upon the circle when Lowell died, it is incongruous to find within a few pages that Mr. Lowell is still writing his inimitable letters, and it is still more unsettling to have the first Mrs. Godkin die and come to life in a similar fashion.

With Mr. Godkin's shortcomings the biographer deals tactfully. He makes his subject reveal himself, and without detracting seriously from the general inference of eulogy, he lets Mr. Godkin display not only his brilliancy and essential lovableness but also his irritability, extreme individualism, and pride of culture, the qualities that evoked McCready Sykes's oft-quoted parody, beginning,

> "Godkin the Righteous, known of old,
> Priest of the Nation's moral health;
> Within whose Post we daily read
> The Gospel of the Rights of Wealth;"

Mr. Godkin was a democrat by philosophical conviction rather than by natural sympathy. He scarcely knew how to live outside of his own caste. He was too acute for even self-deception, and wrote to Norton: "I unfortunately cannot live in the house, and am always poking my nose into the serene upper air of philosophy, which is rather a desolate and chilly region, in which it is hard for a politician in a democracy to feel very comfortable—everybody down below having all the while a jolly time."

It is not surprising that his mood grew sometimes atra-bilious. To Olmsted he hoped "that we could grow old and grumble over the ways of the world together". And again with a burst of humor, "What an infernal old world it is! Nobody has a good time in it but Satan, and the Catholics worry even him with holy water." After the local election in November, 1897, he opens a deep despair: "I am tired of having to be continually hopeful; what I long for now is a little comfortable private gloom in despair. It seems in America as if a man was made for government, not government for man. These views are all for your private ear; don't give me away. As an editor I am bound to keep cheerful and expect grand things." It is sad to see that this is the mood in which he took off his armor in 1899: "Our present political condition is repulsive to me. I came here fifty years ago with high and fond ideals about America, for I was brought up in the Mill-Grote

school of radicals. They are now all shattered, and I have apparently to look elsewhere to keep even moderate hopes about the human race alive."

Among the letters of regret and commendation which were showered upon him at that time, there came one from that wise man, President Eliot, which condenses into one felicitous paragraph the whole meed of both praise and reproach for Mr. Godkin: "I have sometimes been sorry for you and your immediate co-adjutors, because you had no chance to work immediately and positively for the remedying of some of the evils which you exposed. The habitual critic gets a darker or less cheerful view of the social and political state than one does who is actively engaged in efforts to improve that state. All the greater are the obligations of society to the critic."

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE.

The Seigniorial System in Canada. A Study in French Colonial Policy. By WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Government in Harvard University. [Harvard Historical Studies, XIII.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1907. Pp. xiii, 296.)

FEUDALISM in America seems to embody an incongruity, for in Europe nearly all that was real and strong in feudalism had passed away before America was discovered. Yet even in Europe the feudal tie still remained, though robbed of its original reality; in the tenure of land at least France was still feudal; and so it happened that, since it was the only system she knew, France planted feudalism in Canada as inevitably as the English carried the existing land laws of England to their colonies. Time was to show how far each system was appropriate to its new environment. The English law of entail was not suited to the conditions of the new world and has for the most part disappeared; the cardinal principle of feudalism, that the occupier and tiller of the soil had only a permanent usufruct rather than the freehold of his land, was even less suited to regions with vast areas of unoccupied land, and after more than two centuries of trial feudalism was abolished in Canada.

A treatise on Canadian feudalism that should be both popular, or at least untechnical, and adequately learned has long been a desideratum and, in lieu of something more adequate, Parkman's brief sketch in his *Old Régime in Canada* has done excellent service. Mr. Munro's volume now supplies a real want. It would be vain to expect in it that mysterious charm of style apparent in everything which Parkman wrote upon Canada, and found as yet in no other writer on the same topic. Mr. Munro does not try to be picturesque; he does not try to reconstruct the past life of a Canadian seigniory as the Abbé Casgrain, for instance, has reconstructed that of a Canadian parish in the seventeenth century. What he does is to set forth the various aspects of the feudal

relation and their historical development. His style is lucid and his meaning is never obscure; he has mastered every important detail of his subject, and in consequence has produced a book which, though brief, will take rank at once as the authoritative exposition of Canadian feudalism.

Apart from supplementary matter the book has twelve chapters. The first, The European Background, discusses the rise and decay of feudalism in France. The custom of Paris, to Mr. Munro's regret, was adopted in Canada. It was, he thinks, unsuited to the needs of the new world, while that of Normandy would "have obviated many of the evils which attended the working of the seignorial system in the colony" (p. 10). Chapters II. and III. deal with the seignorial grants made between 1598 and 1760. Until 1666 these grants were made by the successive trading companies, but these were interested in trade, not in settlement, and finally the king took matters into his own hands. After a rapid survey of this settlement, which was very slow, Mr. Munro discusses the various systems of land tenure in Canada (two only, *en seigneurie* and *en censive*, being common) and in chapter V. he shows the relations between the seignior and his dependents. They involved among other things the military tie. In New France, attacked incessantly by Indians and periodically by the English, the necessity of military organization was as obvious as it had been when feudalism first sprang out of the conditions prevalent in Europe. The Canadian *habitant* was always a soldier, and indeed, owing to the state of the country, would probably have been so under freehold tenure as much as under the feudal tie, but this last furnished a ready-made leadership. The seignior's banal rights, the *corvée* in Canada, the administration of seigniorial justice, the Canadian *noblesse* (not all seigniors were of the noblesse), and the place of the Church in relation to Canadian feudalism, all have special chapters. Space does not permit detailed discussion of any of these topics. The only banal right which the seignior claimed seriously was that of forcing the *censitaires* to use his grist-mill. The *corvée* rarely became oppressive "and did not differ very essentially from the so-called 'statute labor' obligation which is imposed upon the rural population in some of the Canadian provinces at the present day" (p. 133). Nor did the seignior as judge or the Church as feudal lord press feudal rights in Canada so as to alienate the people.

Mr. Munro shows clearly the perennial beneficence of Louis XIV. He is here not a stern despot but a kindly father always ready with gifts and encouragement. He was not as wanting in enlightenment on colonial questions as is usually supposed. He was resolved that the Canadian seigniors should try to settle their tracts, and the *Arrêt of Marly* of 1711 made it compulsory for seigniors to grant lands on their estates to those who applied for them. They might not hold for a speculative rise in value. If feudalism failed in Canada it was due to inherent defects of the system rather than to any undue pressing of its possible abuses.

Fail it did. Under British supremacy for a hundred years it continued, and then, in 1854, with almost no one to regret it, a tenure that had prevailed in Canada for nearly 250 years was replaced by simple freehold. Mr. Munro does not discuss very fully the causes of the failure of the seignorial system. There was room indeed for one more chapter, which should include this final survey of merits and defects. But within the limits he imposes on himself he has done his task extremely well. He is always accurate. He has examined not merely the available printed sources but has also consulted manuscript material at Paris, Ottawa, and elsewhere, notably the copious *Correspondance Générale*, a mine of information regarding New France from which as yet only gleanings have been made. The bibliographical apparatus is excellent and altogether the book attains to a very high standard both of historical insight and of scholarship. It is satisfactory to know that the present work is soon to be supplemented by a volume of documents on seigniorial tenure, for the most part unpublished, which Mr. Munro has in preparation for the Champlain Society.

MINOR NOTICES

Saint George, Champion of Christendom and Patron Saint of England. By E. O. Gordon. (London, Swan Sonnenschein and Company, 1907, pp. vii, 142.) Mr. Gordon's book is an attractive one, with its many choice illustrations of antiquities pertaining to the cult of St. George, and its richly embossed cover representing "the Victorious One" in combat with the dragon. The author has diligently collected every scrap of material, legendary, historical, literary, artistic, on the patron saint of England; and has divided his book into four parts dealing respectively with the life and martyrdom of the saint, his commemoration in the liturgies and institutions of England, celebrated knights of the order of the Garter from the Tudor period to the present, and representations of the saint in sacred and secular art—even to the signs of hostelries.

Quite naturally, the author has brought to notice very many interesting stories and local traditions concerning the saint's cult in Caerleon-on-Usk, Winchester, and Windsor; and in the second part of the book he has some really valuable material on William of Wykeham and his "poor scholars". But as a whole the book has little historical worth. The author does not appear to discriminate in the least between legend, poetry, chronicle, and sealed documents for their value as sources. The Greek Menology, the *Encomiums* of the blessed Abba Theodotus, the *Aurea Legenda* of Jacobus de Voragine, Hardyng's fifteenth-century *Chronicle*, Dr. Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, and Tennyson's *Idyls of the King* all bring equally welcome and sound grist to Mr. Gordon's mill. In fact he speaks in one place (p. 52) of a certain tradition as being "accepted" by Tennyson in his *Idyls*.

For the antiquary or the devoted tory who delights in the Duke of Argyll's *Governor's Guide* Mr. Gordon's book will contain much desirable information. The sections on the saint in art and on celebrated members of the order of St. George are rich in ecclesiastical lore and a sort of dignified ducal gossip: but there is too many a parenthetic passage on a most doubtful legendary text to suit the historical critic. For example, the author believes that a splinter of the True Cross, which it was the Empress Helena's "privilege to discover" (!) in Palestine, is contained in the orb of Edward the Confessor's sceptre among the regalia in the Tower; and he seems to share Eusebius's estimate of Constantine, to whom "we owe our *ideal* Christian soldier" (!!) (p. 137).

This quality of indifference to modern historical criticism seems to us a far more serious fault in the book than the occasional actual misstatements of the author in calling Henry Tudor the "heir presumptive" to the English throne (p. 65), in deploring Gustavus's death "on the hard-won field of Lutzen in 1637", and in speaking of Abbey's paintings of King Arthur in "the Town Hall of Boston" (p. 56).

D. S. Muzzey.

The Criminal Prosecution and Capital Punishment of Animals. By E. P. Evans. (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1906, pp. x, 384.) The subject of this book deals with one of the most interesting phases of medieval law; and the author's essay is entertaining if not very profound or original. The work consists of two essays, first published in 1884 but since rewritten, prefaced by an introduction in which the nature of the problem involved is clearly stated; an appendix contains copious extracts from accounts of trials, including in several cases the pleadings themselves and the sentence pronounced; and there is an excellent index and a surprisingly large bibliography.

The second essay is of no interest to historians. It is a discussion of the philosophic basis of criminal responsibility and punishment, in which most theories now current are noticed, though hardly adequately discussed. The author's opinion appears to be that the justification for punishment is the combination of retribution and warning; the object to be punished must have the evil will which deserves to suffer and the capacity to take warning from the punishment of others. Applying this reasoning to the case of beasts, he concludes that they may possess the evil will, but not the capacity to be taught by example. In this respect beasts differ from brutal cranks, who may be so warned. Writing in 1884, the author says there can be no doubt that the execution of Guiteau has greatly lessened the dangers of this kind to which the president of the United States is exposed. Later events render this dictum questionable, and illustrate the unscientific nature of the sort of speculation which this essay contains.

The first essay entitled Bugs and Beasts before the Law, deals with

true historical material. The author has made an apparently exhaustive collection of instances both of injunctions and of criminal proceedings against beasts. This material might have been treated in several ways so as to add to human knowledge. A careful study of the proceedings might have afforded a valuable insight into the working of the medieval mind. There are circumstances related which appear to illustrate a tendency toward modern humanitarianism as early as the fifteenth century. Or the procedure might have been so examined as to throw light on the history of legal doctrines. The process against non-human defendants now survives only in the case of inanimate things; but for a thorough understanding of its nature a careful study of the position of animals in medieval law is necessary. The real basis of legal process against animals seems to have been the effort of the sovereign to restrain extra-judicial vengeance even against beasts, and to require a regular method of legal proceedings to fit every injury.

The author throws no light on these problems. He is content with the task of the journalist; he reports facts and makes such comments as would appeal to the man in the street. It is easy to turn to ridicule the ways and thoughts of an age long past; but to search with sympathy and insight for the real meaning of such ways and thoughts is the historian's task. From the point of view of the student of history Mr. Evans's book presents to the English reader in accessible form materials for study but it offers few original or helpful suggestions towards the use of these materials.

J. H. Beale, jr.

A Short History of Mediaeval Peoples from the Dawn of the Christian Era to the Fall of Constantinople. By Robinson Souttar. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. vii, 682.) In its plan this book is evidently a continuation of a previous volume by the same author, rather than based on a modern conception of the term "mediaeval". Having written a "short history of ancient peoples" Mr. Souttar now begins with a review of the Augustan age and devotes three chapters to Roman literature before taking up the serious narrative of the reign of Tiberius. The progress of the Roman Empire from that time until the death of Justinian occupies more than half of the large volume. Comfortable space is found in seventy-two pages for a sketch of Mohammedanism and an equal measure is allotted to the Crusades. The remainder of the book is devoted to the Byzantine Empire from Justinian to the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

Of western Europe there is no mention, except in connection with the Roman Empire. The Goths and Vandals are chronicled, but of the great Germanic movement in the West and North; of the beginnings of modern European nations; of the rise and culmination of feudal institutions; of the great German-Roman Empire, and of other impor-

tant events and phenomena which come within the dates set by the title, there is nothing said except by incidental reference. Therefore, to one who has not seen the book the name is misleading. It should be called the "Roman and Byzantine Empires", or words to that effect.

Thus much having been said of its designation, the book takes its place as a popular review of these great periods. No pretence of new investigation is made, and, in fact, all the paraphernalia of research are carefully banished. From cover to cover not a foot-note disfigures the pages, and only now and then is some modern authority quoted, or referred to in the text. The reader appears to be in safe hands, however, for the current modern opinion is not departed from, unless the author takes occasion to differ with some one as to the causes of the decline and fall of the Empire, or as to the effect of Christianity upon early political and social institutions. He is emphatic in his high valuation of the new religion.

For the most part the book deals with the externals of history. The great political movements of this period form indeed an essential and interesting part of the story, and perhaps one ought not to expect more in a work of these dimensions; but the economic and social life of the people are so woven into the fabric of Roman history that an author's conclusions about the causes of things are much more illuminating when grounded on a reasonable amount of descriptive detail. The work will, however, serve a useful purpose if it leads to greater familiarity with this momentous epoch. J. M. VINCENT.

Umayyads and 'Abbásids. Being the fourth part of Jurjí Zaydán's *History of Islamic Civilization.* Translated by D. S. Margoliouth, D.Litt., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford. [Printed for the Trustees of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial".] (Leyden, E. J. Brill; London, Luzac and Company, 1907, pp. xv, 325.) Among the interesting literary movements of the present day is the revival of Arabic literature and learning now taking place in Egypt. Whether this movement is due to the conditions brought about by Lord Cromer's administration, an administration which has added so greatly to the material prosperity of Egypt and of which every Englishman has good reason to be proud, whether it be due to an attempted Pan-Islamic revival, or whether it be due to some other cause or combination of causes, its extent and influence are such that Professor Margoliouth is justified in speaking of it in his preface to the translation of Zaydán's book as a "renaissance of Arabic literature and learning in that country, surpassing all that might have been imagined". He well says: "Societies formed for the encouragement of Arabic literature are constantly bringing to light important texts bearing on Mohammedan history, antiquities, and religion; and a whole series of magazines and reviews, such as the *Muktataf*, the *Hilál*, the *Muktabis*,

the *Manár*, the *Muhit*, the *Diyá*, and others, while providing lighter entertainment for the educated in Egypt, also devote some of their pages to the study of works which interest European Orientalists." The editor of one of these magazines, the *Hilál*, Mr. G. Zaidan (to use the transliteration employed in the preface) who is, we are told, a Syrian by birth, but who has lived in Cairo for many years, is the author of the present book, which is the fourth part of his *History of Islamic Civilization*.

Even if this work had no claim on our attention other than the fact that it gives to the western reader knowing no Arabic the opportunity of acquainting himself with one of the productions of the literary movement referred to, it would still repay reading. But the reader soon discovers that the contents of the book will reward study, quite apart from the question as to what movement produced it. To show the wide range of topics treated it may be well to give the headings of a few sections taken almost at random. The following may be noted: Settlement of Aliens in Arabia; Classes of Arabs within Islam; Growth of the Population by the Increasing Birth Rate; Slaves and Freedmen in Islam; Growth of Town Life among the Arabs after the Conquest; Clients and their Treatment in the Umayyad Period; 'Abbásid Policy in the Treatment of their Subjects; Persecution of Tolerated Sects in 'Abbásid Times; The Barmecides and their Place in the Empire; The Turkish Army and Public Affairs; The Seljúk Dynasty and its Branches; Policy of the Spanish Umayyads; Timur Lenk.

There are few references to Western writers, but the author cites between thirty and forty Oriental works, and has evidently read widely and thought carefully. In a work covering so long a period and such a range of topics there are inevitably points about which there is room for difference of opinion, but the book is an interesting and stimulating account of the civilization of an important period, and reflects great credit on its author. Western students owe a debt both to the accomplished translator, Professor Margoliouth, and to the trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial for making this valuable work accessible to them.

J. R. Jewett.

Der Kirchenstaat unter Klemens V. [*Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte*, herausgegeben von Georg von Below, Heinrich Finke, und Friedrich Meinecke, Heft 1.] Von Anton Eitel. (Berlin und Leipzig, Walther Rothschild, 1907, pp. 218.) This monograph on the political fortunes of the Papal States at the opening of the fourteenth century is the first of a series of special studies in medieval and modern history edited by Below, Finke, and Meinecke. Since the appearance of Sugenheim's *Entstehung und Ausbildung des Kirchenstaats* (1854) no attempt has been made to deal in a thorough fashion with the very critical period of papal rule in Italy which intervened between the full acknowledgment of the temporal sovereignty of the Church by Rudolf

of Hapsburg (1279) and the firm establishment of the vicarial authority by the strong statesmanship of John XXII. (1316–1334). The numerous excellent French works on the Avignon papacy have paid too little attention to Italy, while von Reumont and Gregorovius, too intent on the dramatic strife of barons and populace in Rome, have slighted the influence of Clement's vicars and legates. Furthermore, Theiner's publication of the *Register* of Clement, Finke's discovery of important material in the archives at Barcelona, and the author's own finds among the Roman records, make this study a valuable contribution to the history of the medieval Church.

After a short sketch of the troubled state of Tuscany (which, though not part of the papal lands, nevertheless lent them its own political complexion), Dr. Eitel traces the efforts of Clement's vicars to bring order and authority into the Patrimonium Petri, the Campagna-Maritima, the Duchy of Spoleto, the Mark of Ancona, the Romagna, Ferrara, and Este. Though he promises in his preface to "avoid everything that has interest merely for the local historian", he finds it hard to avoid following in the footsteps of the local annalist, and again and again falls into passages of rather petty chronicles—especially in the later chapters of the book. But all scholars who have attempted to thread the maze of what the genial chronicle of Parma calls "prelia magna et tumultus quasi per singula loca" in the Romagna and the Mark will judge the author lightly for a bit of rambling.

The main contention and final contribution of Dr. Eitel's monograph is the vindication of the essential statesmanship of Clement V. in the management of the Italian provinces, after the violent phratricism of Boniface VIII. and the weak complaisance of Benedict XI. Instead of one master in the papal lands, when Clement V. was elected to the chair of St. Peter, there were as many masters as there were turbulent cities and powerful families. This state of anarchy in his patrimony prescribed for Clement a policy of tortuous diplomacy reinforced, so far as possible, by the arms of France and Naples. The thoroughness with which Clement accomplished his political task (meeting failure only in Ferrara and Este) made possible the triumphs of the statesmanship of John XXII. in economic and administrative reforms.

One could wish that the excellent chapter on "Die Provinzialverfassung im Kirchenstaat" were much longer; but the author explains in a note (p. 58) that he is reserving the thorough treatment of the "Verfassung des Kirchenstaats" from Innocent III. to the end of the Avignon period for a special treatise. D. S. Muzzey.

Le Poète J. Fr. Regnard en son Chasteau de Grillon. Étude Topographique, Littéraire et Morale. Par Joseph Guyot. (Paris, Picard et fils, 1907, pp. viii, 208.) In 1699 the dramatist Regnard bought the château of Grillon, lying to the southwest of Paris, near Dourdan, and in 1700, after he had taken possession of the estate, purchased the office

of lieutenant of the waters and forests of Dourdan, which carried with it the title of councillor to the king. For the remaining nine years of his life he combined the profession of playwright with the amusements of a country gentleman, writing comedies and riding to the hounds. But of this existence only the bare outline has been known, and the object of the present monograph is to furnish such additional information as may be gleaned from local sources. The difficulties of this task were increased by the destruction of the château half a century ago, after it had been deformed by various attempts to convert it into a factory. By summoning early recollections, however, and by correcting them by means of old views of the manor and descriptions of the buildings found in the bill of sale of 1699, M. Guyot has succeeded in presenting a clear idea of the interior and exterior of Grillon. To reproduce the life that Regnard led during his occupancy the author had at his disposal the records of the families of the neighborhood, and inventories which were made of the personal belongings of Regnard, first at the time of his death, and later, when his estate was settled. These facts, reinforced by the author's knowledge of the theatres and comedians of Paris and his acquaintance with the customs and spirit of the time, are so handled as to give us a vivid impression of Regnard's occupations and diversions, though the increase in biographical data remains quite inconsiderable.

The inventories form the most important part of the new material and are printed at length in the appendix. They describe to us in detail the appointments of a well-to-do establishment. The notaries who made them took their task most seriously. Each room of the château was visited in turn and its contents written down and appraised. The appraisal is sometimes by the lot, more often by the piece. While the valuation seems in many cases but an approximate estimate, we can learn in a general way how different furnishings were regarded. We select a few articles. Books are held cheaply, hardly more than a livre each, mirrors are expensive, tapestries are considered to be worth more than furniture, as an upholstered armchair and three chairs with upholstered backs are returned at ten livres for the four. Gilt furniture is rated higher, but four pictures in gilt frames are assessed at twenty livres only. Silverware is valuable, the contents of Grillon amounting to over six thousand livres. Three horses are assessed at three hundred livres, while the hay provided for them is valued at two hundred, and their harness at twenty.

The volume is issued in a limited edition at the author's expense, is printed on fine paper and handsomely illustrated with engravings and cuts of Grillon and Dourdan. F. M. Warren.

Map of the World by Jodocus Hondius, 1611. Edited by Edward Luther Stevenson, Ph.D. and Joseph Fischer, S.J. Facsimile issued under the joint auspices of the American Geographical Society and the

Hispanic Society of America. (New York, 1907; portfolio of eighteen sectional sheets and one sheet containing a reduction of the whole map; accompanying text, 19 pp. and two illustrations.) In a way this reproduction commemorates the four-hundredth anniversary of the first naming of America by Waldseemüller, to whom Josse de Hondt (or Jodocus Hondius) was a worthy successor. He was born at Wacken, Flanders, in 1563; became proficient in Latin and Greek, and studied painting, mathematics, and cosmography. On account of the religious persecutions in his own country during the war with Spain, he removed to England, and in London worked for some years as a maker of mathematical instruments and a designer of fonts for the typefounders, beside pursuing the vocation of an engraver of maps. He was the founder of a well-known family of painters and engravers. He has not received the critical biographical consideration which his fame deserves. He removed from London to Amsterdam, where his son, Josse, was born in 1593, and where he himself died on February 16, 1611. His business in the Calverstraete was continued by his son, Hendrik (1588–1658), who became a noted engraver. In 1604 Jodocus Hondius acquired the collection of copperplates left by the death of Mercator, which we know from Hondius's 1605 edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*. These plates he reissued from time to time in editions of Mercator's *Atlas* and in other ways. Neither he nor his son, Hendrik, improved very much upon the *Atlas*, but they extended it. The Dutch school built upon the foundations of Mercator, and continued the errors of the Ptolemaic system. His praenomen lived in a son (baptized in 1593) and in his son (baptized in 1622), from which confusion has resulted; but it is evident that this map was the work of the original Jodocus Hondius.

The map is of huge size, and is known by but one original exemplar, which is in the collection of the late Prince Franz von Waldburg zu Wolfegg-Waldsee, in Württemberg, where it was found by Father Fischer, of Feldkirch, Austria, in 1901, the same year that he discovered the great Waldseemüller world-maps of 1507 and 1516, in the same castle. It was in a bad condition, considerably crumpled, torn and mounted upon a coarse linen, but was entrusted to Father Ehrle, of the Vatican, whose ability to restore such things is shown again by the remarkable results attained. The photographic negatives were made in Feldkirch under favorable supervision, and the reproduction was made in the establishment of Edward Bierstadt, by the artotype or gelatine process, the results being admirable. The actual publication and preparation of the text, printed by De Vinne, were done by Professor Stevenson of Rutgers College.

In this map Hondius showed independent initiative and made some contributions to geographical records, but he also continued the errors which had persisted for over a century. It could not have been finished before 1610, because it shows the results of recent voyages and discoveries, such as Weymouth's (1602), Champlain's (1604), Hudson's

(1608), and an unsuccessful attempt to reach China by way of Novaja Semlja, in 1609. But aside from its cartographical value, its absorbing interest is as a work of art. It is, we believe, the finest copperplate world-map of great size which has survived or is known. Its large border-panels are scenes in the jungle, etc., and around the hemispheres are biblical scenes and emblematic figures, while other parts contain portraits of Mercator, Hondius, Drake, Cavendish, Magellan and Noort. The figures of ships are valuable for illustrative uses and for a study of naval architecture. The original map is a monument and so is its reproduction. VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

Lettres du Comte Valentin Esterhazy à sa Femme, 1784–1792, avec une Introduction et des Notes par Ernest Daudet. (Paris, Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1907, pp. viii, 429.) In his introduction to the *Mémoires du Comte Valentin Esterhazy* published in 1905 (reviewed in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, July, 1906, vol. XI., p. 935) M. Daudet quoted some letters from the count to his wife. These quotations caused the readers of the *Mémoires* to demand a fuller publication of the correspondence. M. Daudet presents in this volume such of the letters as seem to him worth while for the period extending from the count's marriage to the daughter of the Comte d'Hallweil in March, 1784, to the outbreak of war in April, 1792. He promises to follow this volume with a similar one for the later period, extending to the death of the count in July, 1805.

The earlier letters narrate the experiences of the count in court circles. Both the *Mémoires* and the *Lettres* give abundant evidence of the intimate friendship of the count with Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, and the Comte d'Artois. Of equal interest in this period are the letters written during his tours of military inspection as governor of Rocroy. His Hungarian and Austrian connections made him *persona grata* at the court of the Archduchess Maria Christina, which he visited at the moment when the intrigues of Joseph II. threatened to precipitate a war with the Dutch. This visit afforded opportunities for observations of the Austrian army which he compares with the French army in his letter of July 28, 1785. The letters of this period also describe his residence in the family of the Duc de Choiseul during the last illness of the great minister, and his trip to visit his mother at Vigan, near Nimes, in 1786.

From these sketches of court, military, and provincial life under the Ancien Régime, the reader is suddenly jumped over three interesting years, for which M. Daudet has found no letters, and landed in the midst of the Revolution. The first letters of this new period describe the emigration of the count and his family first to St. Albans and then to Tournai. With no flattering pen Esterhazy depicts the bedraggled ceremony and gaiety of the princes and their followers, the divided councils, the petty intrigues, and the dissipation, which proved that the clear mind and the strong hand to direct and manage were absent from

Coblenz no less than from the Tuileries. The letters of August 8 and 9, 1791, are noteworthy on this point. The count's Austrian connections caused the Comte d'Artois to take him as his personal companion to the conference at Pillnitz. As an immediate result of the conference, the count was hurried off to represent the Bourbon interests at St. Petersburg. From his first audience, described in his letter of September 15, 1791, until the death of the Tsaritsa Catherine, he continued at this post, the recipient of the marked personal favor of the empress.

This volume makes little contribution to the knowledge of events, but is a welcome addition to the literature illuminating the Revolution.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

L'Ancien Régime en Lorraine et Barrois d'après des Documents Inédits (1698–1789). Quatrième Édition. Revue et Augmentée d'un Épisode de la Révolution en Lorraine. Par Cardinal Mathieu. (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. xxiv, 539.) The recent religious troubles in France have afforded Cardinal Mathieu a pretext for reprinting his doctor's thesis which was presented at the University of Nancy under the professorship of M. Rambaud in 1878. The similarity in method to M. Rambaud's well-known *Histoire de la Civilisation en France* shows clearly the hand of the master. The volume is one of the earliest and one of the best of the numerous works on the local history of the Ancien Régime and the Revolution which have been produced by historical students under the Third Republic. The second half of the eight-page list of authorities shows how much work has been done in the history of Lorraine alone in the past thirty years. In spite of this flood of new materials, the cardinal has made but slight changes in preparing the new edition. He should have inserted at least one good map of the province, though several are desirable for the proper elucidation of the narrative. The volume opens with a careful historical retrospect for the purpose of defining the term Lorraine. Then, assuming that the Revolution was directed against the Church, the administration, and the nobility, the author devotes a series of chapters to the conditions in Lorraine, in each of these particulars, in the eighteenth century. Important chapters deal with "opinion" in Lorraine and its manifestations prior to 1789, and with the elections of 1789 and the cahiers. There is added to this edition an account of the trial of Charlotte de Rutant, a native of Saulxures-lès-Nancy, who was executed at Paris in October, 1793. Cardinal Mathieu has honestly attempted to deal justly with the various persons, classes, institutions, and conditions, but his clericalism and conservatism are frequently obvious. While he does not hesitate to confess that evils existed in the Church under the Ancien Régime, he is at pains to clear the Church of blame and to charge most of the evil to the unrighteous greed of laymen, especially lay rulers. The book is a careful piece of work, cautious and moderate in tone. It is to be recommended to the student who desires

a detailed account of the exact conditions in one of the French provinces prior to the Revolution, written by one inclined to sympathize with the old order. The reader should remember that Lorraine was a recently annexed frontier province which had suffered many vicissitudes during the century before the Revolution, and that the conditions there were unusually complex and confused. GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

An invaluable help for the student of modern Italian history is Professor Ernesto Masi's *Catalogo di Alcuni Libri per la Storia del Risorgimento,* issued in the admirable series, *Biblioteca Storica Andrea Ponti.* Professor Masi is one of the acutest critics of this period, and he has written in this brochure not only a list of the leading works but an outline of the historical evolution itself. Addressing primarily young Italians, he confines this list to books in either Italian or in French, but these, we need hardly remark, comprise nineteen-twentieths of the really vital material. Anyone who has mastered the works here discussed will be in a position to specialize intelligently. Professor Masi's swift but penetrating summary, which may be read in a couple of hours, is a model. It is to be hoped that his *Catalogo,* which is issued in the beautifully printed Ponti series, may be put into such a form that it will get the wide circulation which it merits. Evidently, no college or working library should be without it. W. R. T.

L'Assistance sous la Seconde République (1848–1851), par Ferdinand-Dreyfus. (Paris, Édouard Cornély et Cie, 1907, pp. 220.) The volume, opening with a sketch of the treatment of poverty in France between 1795 and 1848, forms a sequel to previous studies by the same author on the First Republic, and the series is to be completed by a similar work on the Third. In philanthropic projects the revolution of 1848 cherished at the outset the same ideals as the Constituent Assembly. It dreamt of liberating society from all suffering. To the provisional government the *droit au travail* seemed the panacea; but this view met with the opposition of the *bourgeoisie,* and the government, on its fall, bequeathed the unsolved problem to its successors. The *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, found the much debated question in the same status. The present work is an acute discussion of the various steps leading to this nugatory result as well as of contemporary measures actually passed with a view to social amelioration.

A Bird's-Eye View of American History. By Leon C. Prince of the Pennsylvania Bar and the Faculty of Dickinson College. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. vi, 364.) A summary of four centuries of American history within the limits of 350 small pages subjects the narrative to compression so heroic that the reviewer's criticism must be largely of perspective. Practically as much space is accorded to Pennsylvania, 1664–1681, as to all the New England colonies, 1620–1691. To the development of American literature is allotted a total

of sixteen lines, one-half the space given to the exploits and burial of John Paul Jones. Monroe's "cocked hat and costume in the fashion of the Revolution", and "the magnificence of the personal appearance of 'Hancock the Superb'" catch the bird's eye, though it takes no note of such matters as the New England Confederation or Albany Congress; the preliminaries which led to the Federal Convention; the Know-Nothing Party; or "Uncle Tom's Cabin".

A few errors may be cited: McKinley's assassination took place a day later than stated. It is twice asserted that the Constitution "forbade the importation of slaves after 1808". Twice, with especial emphasis, is the startling and unwarranted statement made that New York, Rhode Island, and Virginia "came into the Union on the express condition that they could withdraw whenever they might choose to do so". Although a chapter of The Silver Question in Politics comprises one-sixteenth of the whole book, it gives no clean-cut account of the alleged "Crime of '73" which loomed so large in the controversy; it declares: "This anti-silver legislation inevitably cheapened the commercial value of the white metal", but makes no mention of the enormous increase in the annual production of silver; it omits all reference to the twelve years of experience with silver purchase and coinage under the Bland-Allison Act.

In view of the space-limits of the book, some topics receive surprisingly comprehensive treatment, *e. g.*, the comparison of the French and English as colonists; the causes of the Revolutionary War, and of the War of 1812; the course of Reconstruction. In general the discussion is well-balanced, but some statements will call forth dissent. In discussing Revolutionary Doctrine and Modern Practice the author concludes: "It was the plain intention of the framers of the Constitution that the Republic should, if it wanted to, hold dependencies indefinitely and never allow them to become anything else." It is true that the "Whig Party left no permanent legislation", but the statement that "it was not associated with any great or vital facts in American history" needs decided qualification. Of the Negro of To-day Mr. Prince takes a thoroughly one-sided and pessimistic view. He emphasizes "the beneficent and humanizing influence of white control", which passed away with slavery; dismisses in three lines the progress and promise of "an exceedingly small class of intelligent and efficient colored people" and then devotes several pages to a vigorous presentation of the considerations which lead him to conclude: "At his present rate of deterioration the American negro is destined to a certain and not distant extinction."

To the mature reader this outline will prove serviceable in connection with more extended histories. The book's usefulness, however, is greatly impaired by the inexcusable omission of an index, for which the so-called Outline of American History—a mere list of the author's

chapter-headings and their sub-topics—is but a clumsy and ineffective substitute. GEORGE H. HAYNES.

A Short History of the American Navy. By John R. Spears. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907, pp. vi, 134.) Mr. Spears's little book is published under the auspices of the "Navy League of the United States", an organization of which General Horace Porter is the president. The purposes of this publication may be gathered from the purposes of the league, which are "to acquire and spread before the citizens of the country information as to the condition of its naval forces and ships, and to awaken public interest and activity in all matters tending to aid, improve, and develop the efficiency of the Navy". With these ends in view and with a limited amount of space at his disposal, the author naturally produced a brief, popular, sketchy narrative of the navy. This book is not to be taken too seriously. It of course makes no pretensions to scholarship and has neither foot-notes nor index. It contributes little new knowledge and fortunately not many errors worthy of being noted—just the usual small slips that one is likely to find in popular volumes. For instance, the Continental navy contained somewhat more than "forty-seven ships" (p. 3); and at the end of the Revolution four vessels and not "one" remained in service (p. 15). Of more importance are some misstatements (p. 1) respecting the founding of the Continental navy, which are derived from Buell's *Paul Jones*. It should be said whenever occasion offers that the romancing Buell is to be read for his story and not for his facts, which when quoted should always be verified. Some fault, were one disposed, might be found with the composition of the book, which seems to indicate haste on the part of the author. The curious student might like to learn the original source of a few of Mr. Spears's quotations; for instance, the words of Captain Pearson of the *Scrapis*, who shortly before his engagement with the *Bon Homme Richard* "turned to his surgeon and said: 'Doctor, the stranger is probably Paul Jones. If so there is work ahead'" (p. 12).

This book contains thirteen chapters. One of them treats of the Continental navy; one, of the naval war with France; one, of the Tripolitan War; four, of the Naval War of 1812; one, of the navy in the Civil War; and one, of the navy in the Spanish-American War. Of the remaining four chapters, three give an account of the naval material, and one of naval organization. One of the chapters on the Naval War of 1812 treats of the origin of this war. The author's version of the confused history of this period is rather unsatisfactory and is ultra-patriotic. Throughout the book runs the moral that an efficient navy is necessary for the maintenance of peace.

CHARLES OSCAR PAULLIN.

Heroes of the Navy in America. By Charles Morris. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1907, pp. 320.) Mr.

Morris's book belongs to the popular variety, and is exceedingly well adapted to the needs of young readers. It is replete with incident and action, and is written in a pleasing and spirited manner, with short, sharp, and clear sentences. Treating chiefly, although not entirely, of our naval successes, it presents a rather one-sided and flattering picture of our naval history as a whole. A book of naval "heroes", however, could not well do otherwise.

Of the twenty-eight heroes here treated, eight, O'Brien, Biddle, John Paul Jones, Dale, Barry, Arnold, Tucker, and Barney, belong to the Revolutionary War; one, Truxtun, distinguished himself in the naval war with France; three, Preble, Bainbridge, and Decatur, may be assigned to the Tripolitan War; ten, Hull, Jacob Jones, Blakely, Lawrence, Morris, David Porter, O. H. Perry, Macdonough, Reid, and Stewart, found a theatre for their daring deeds in the War of 1812; one, M. C. Perry, became famous for his expedition to Japan; three, Farragut, D. D. Porter, and Cushing, achieved their fame during the Civil War; and two, Dewey and Hobson, were the heroes of the late conflict with Spain. No two men would probably agree upon the same list of twenty-eight names for a naval hall of fame. It is doubtful whether the brief career of Nicholas Biddle entitles him to enrollment. Mr. Morris has done more than justice to the worthies of the War of 1812, who number ten or possibly twelve if we include Bainbridge and Decatur. To Morris's three naval celebrities of the Civil War, we should wish to add a few names, possibly those of Worden, Winslow, Flusser, and Semmes.

The author has generally been careful of his facts. Depending upon secondary authorities he has, however, naturally copied a few of their errors. Those that I have noted are of minor importance. For instance, the *General Monk* was not the last prize of the Revolutionary War (p. 86); O. H. Perry did not take part in the defense of Baltimore (p. 225); the *Fulton the Second* was not the first steam war-vessel in our navy (p. 262); and M. C. Perry did not plan the construction of the *Missouri* and *Mississippi* (p. 263). The proper spellings of the names of the two brigs captured by Captain John Barry in May, 1781, are *Atalanta* and *Trepassey*. "Truxtun" is believed to be the preferable spelling of the name of the chief officer in the naval war with France.

Mr. Morris's book is accompanied with twelve illustrations, chiefly of naval engagements. It has no index.

CHARLES OSCAR PAULLIN.

A Guide to Massachusetts Local History. Compiled by Charles A. Flagg. (Salem, Mass., The Salem Press Company, 1907, pp. x, 256.) This is, as the title-page indicates, "a bibliographic index to the literature of the towns, cities and counties of the state, including books, pamphlets, articles in periodicals and collected works, books in preparation,

historical manuscripts, newspaper clippings, etc." The material listed includes political and military history, descriptive writings, and collected genealogy and biography. It excludes natural history, educational and religious history, excepting that references to the history of the old original churches are given, and it also leaves out, as beside the point, the history of institutions, societies, and industries, town, city, and state documents, directories, maps, addresses, sermons, individual biography, genealogies of individual families, and official manuscript records in the hands of their legal custodians, which are described in the reports of the state record commissioner. General works are given first; then, in order, the material under the counties, which are alphabetically arranged, and, under the counties, the material relating to the towns, which are alphabetically arranged, likewise. The arrangement is convenient, and the use of the work is facilitated by an index to localities which gives both their present and obsolete names. In the body of the work the names of the localities are followed with outline statements of the original designation of the territory in question, date of incorporation, changes in limits, etc. This information, for the most part, is based on that contained in the *Manual* of the Massachusetts general court; certain changes have been made when they seemed necessary, but, in these cases, the authority is not named. That Mr. Flagg has been generous in defining the scope of his undertaking is apparent to anyone at all acquainted with the extent of the literature of the local history in a state in which historical and antiquarian interest has been developed as in Massachusetts. The results of his industry are highly successful. Some of his spoils may have escaped, it is true, though his drag-net has been thrown far out, and local investigators and antiquarians have helped him draw it in. This, however, can best be told in the practical use of the *Guide*. But, in bibliography, he is either a hopeless optimist or else a beginner who dares use the word "complete". Mr. Flagg went into a field that had been explored by Colburn so long ago as a quarter of a century, and has well accomplished a necessary task. The mechanical features of the book are pleasing.

W. A. S.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, second series, volume XX. (Boston, the Society, 1907, pp. xviii, 614.) This volume contains the proceedings of the society from January 1906 to March 1907, inclusive. Refined scholarship, literary experience, and good taste characterize its contents; but it cannot be said that they make an important addition to historical knowledge. One-fourth of the volume is taken up with biographical sketches of deceased members. So important are these deemed that, no such sketch of Charles Sumner having, it appears, been inserted in the series during the thirty-three years since he died, one is now printed in the present volume, surely a superfluous attention to a member whose life has been so amply recorded

elsewhere. Yet there is good reading in these sketches, and finished appreciations of a sort not common in the United States. Another fourth of the volume is taken up with portions of the correspondence of William Duane, moderately interesting. They make it possible to estimate the real calibre and attainments of one who was, it is well known, a power in his time, and illustrate, to a world still unduly impressed with the value of newspaper writers, the pithy saying of Oxenstjerna, *Nescis quantilla prudentia homines regantur.* Of the rest of the volume a large part is contributed by the president of the society, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, and the most interesting thing in it is his discussion, apropos of Fitzmaurice's *Life of Lord Granville*, of the causes by which Great Britain was prevented (and barely prevented) from recognizing the Confederacy. Next most interesting is Mr. F. B. Sanborn's somewhat disorderly account of St. John de Crèvecœur.

Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College; with Annals of the College History. Volume IV., July, 1778–June, 1792. By Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Litt. D. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1907, pp. 752.) Doubtless the plan and character of Dr. Dexter's work have already become familiar from the preceding volume. The collegiate year is taken as a unit, beginning with the annals, then follows a list of the graduates of that year, followed by brief biographical sketches of these in alphabetical order. A list is given of all works which the subject of the sketch may have published (the predominance of sermons is noticeable), also a list of authorities consulted in the preparation of the sketch. The biography is oftener than otherwise simply a chronicle of the man's career, though now and then there are more definite portrayals of character. In examining the lists of graduates for these years we meet with several noteworthy names. For instance, in the class of 1778, there is Joel Barlow, "Noachus" Webster, and "Oliverus" Wolcott; in the class of 1781 "Jacobus" Kent; in that of 1785, Return Jonathan Meigs and "Timotheus" Pitkin. The annals are very brief, usually not more than a page for the year, yet in the lines and between the lines we get frequent and vivid glimpses of the times, manners, and men at Old Yale that interest even those who are not her sons. We see also the trials of the country reflected in the tribulations of the college. For instance, in the year 1779–1780, "at Commencement Professor Daggett presented to the Corporation an earnest remonstrance on account of the inadequacy of his salary in this time of inflated prices". The preparation of this work has involved wide research into a great variety of sources, and Dr. Dexter deserves large credit for the service he has done for the history of Yale.

The Story of Bacon's Rebellion. By Mary Newton Stanard. (New York and Washington, The Neale Publishing Company, 1907, pp. 181.) In spite of the considerable darkness that has surrounded it, "Bacon's Rebellion" in Virginia in 1676 has always drawn the attention of

historical students as being pregnant with meaning, as it has also strongly attracted the romancer by its picturesque and dramatic character. In recent years a good deal of material has been unearthed in the British public records—lists of grievances, sundry accounts of the troubles, letters, etc.—which not only throws light on the course of the rebellion itself but has made it possible to reach a better understanding of the causes which lay behind it. By use of this material Mrs. Stanard has been able to write a tolerably complete account of the whole stirring episode. It cannot be said that every gap has been filled out, neither is it altogether certain that the author's interpretations are always correct. The historical student may incline to question whether the romantic in the episode has not sometimes lifted the author's feet off the solid rock of historical criticism. Nathaniel Bacon is at all times a hero, and Governor Berkeley is almost everywhere Bacon's enemy. At one act of Bacon's Mrs. Stanard does exclaim: "Alas, for the age of chivalry!", but it is with a voice of genuine admiration for the general who was so "picturesque in his methods". But Mrs. Stanard has aimed, while adhering to the documentary evidence in the case, to make the story interesting to the general reader; and she has succeeded admirably. At the same time she has brought into clearer light the causes and results of this famous uprising. There are no foot-notes to the work, but an appendix contains a list of the sources of information.

Robert Lucas. By John C. Parish. [Iowa Biographical Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, the State Historical Society of Iowa, 1907, pp. xv, 356.) The career of Robert Lucas as a soldier in the War of 1812, as a politician and governor of Ohio, and as Iowa's first territorial governor (1838–1841) is here set out with all available detail for which the author evidently sought assiduously. Over one-half of this volume relates to Ohio: less than one-third refers to his brief official service in Iowa. Mr. Parish is clearly hard pressed to discover facts that distinguished Lucas as a speaker and state senator in the legislature of Ohio; and he confesses (p. 123) that his first term as governor was "uneventful" and his second was "largely the story of the Northern Boundary Dispute" with Michigan. In Iowa Lucas produced more sound and fury but little more in positive results. At the outset the usurpation of his office by the territorial secretary put him at loggerheads with his own political party. With an absolute veto in legislation he promptly interfered with insidious and open attempts to disregard the organic law. Precise in disposition he could not bend nor would he placate. Malignant opposition and defeat were his reward. Hence while Lucas's state papers were always worthy of his office his influence on affairs was chiefly negative, and the value of Mr. Parish's work lies in its illustrations of the beginnings of our states under tutelage.

In dealing with matters in controversy the author discriminates the essentials clearly and depends upon original sources mainly. His chapters on territorial expenditures, the executive veto, and the boundary dispute with Missouri are excellent; but the narrative is marred by magniloquence anent minutia and the notion that reiteration makes for impressiveness. Thus we are told (p. 17) of the marriage of Lucas and of his making "his home at the tavern" of the bride's father; on page 22 we are again so informed; and the announcement is solemnly reiterated on page 24. He gives as much space to "Aunt Friendly Lucas'" meals, cakes, smiles, and horse "Nig" as to the two bills that seem to indicate that Lucas was active in the legislature of Ohio (pp. 79–80). The journals, correspondence, and state papers of Lucas secure admiration of his character, sanity, self-control, and earnest patriotism; but he has no place among the gods. If a volume like this is requisite for the meagre achievements of Robert Lucas one is curious as to the number of volumes the editor will consider necessary for Grimes, Harlan, Kirkwood, and Miller. F. I. Herriott.

Canadian Archives: Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759–1791, selected and edited with notes by Adam Shortt, Professor of Political Science, Queen's University, and Arthur G. Doughty, Dominion Archivist. (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1907, pp. xiv, 734.) The publication of this volume marks a new departure in the work of the Dominion Archives. Hitherto its volumes have consisted of official reports or of calendars, with only occasional printing of texts. The present book is the first of a projected series, each volume of which is intended to have unity of subject and to present in proper order all the essential documents for a given portion of Canadian history. It is needless to explain how great a service may be performed, for lawyers as well as historical students, by the issue of a series comprising all the leading papers illustrating the constitutional development of Canada. In the present blue-book form or in some style more dignified and more suitable to that purpose, it should have a large future in Canadian historical education. The first volume contains only documents relating to the central portion of Canada known at the time as the province of Quebec, from the English conquest to the passing of the Constitutional Act in 1791. It includes both primary documents such as capitulations, treaties, royal proclamations, statutes, commissions and instructions to governors, provincial laws and ordinances, and also closely related papers, such as reports and letters, which help to make clear the reasons for formal action or to show its practical results. Contemporary discussions in Parliament or public print are not included. Some 250 documents are given. Selection, arrangement (chronological in nearly all cases) and annotation, all are excellent. Special pains have been taken to present accurate texts, not hitherto obtainable even in case of some of the most important documents.

Guide to the Materials for American History in Cuban Archives. By Luis Marino Pérez. (Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1907, pp. x, 142.) The Cuban national archives are highly incomplete, by reason of extensive deportation of papers to Spain and by reason of the calamities which usually befall archives in tropical and revolutionary countries. Indeed even since the conclusion of Mr. Pérez's quest (which ended in December, 1905, not December, 1906, as by an unfortunate misprint is stated on p. iv), much additional damage was caused by the autumnal outbreak of the latter year. Nevertheless those archives, and the episcopal and other archives described in the book, contain much that is useful for American history. Mr. Pérez's plan is first to give a general survey of the material, accompanied by a history of the archives and such sketch of administrative organization as is needful, and then to present lists of those papers found by him which seem to have the greatest value for history. He lists 551 such documents or groups of documents. They are classified as Documents on the Relations between Cuba and the United States, of which the chief section is the correspondence of the captains-general, and Florida and Louisiana Papers, secular and ecclesiastical. Appendixes present lists prepared by the Trist Commission, 1830–1835, and lists of Cuban manuscript documents accessible in Washington.

Bolivia y Perú. Notas Históricas y Bibliográficas, por G. René-Moreno. Segunda edición aumentada. (Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Barcelona, 1905, pp. x, 333.)—*Bolivia y Perú. Más Notas Históricas y Bibliográficas,* por G. René-Moreno. (Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Barcelona, 1905, pp. 311.) The author of these essays, for many years Director of the Biblioteca Nacional of Lima, has long been known to bibliographers as the author of four or five admirable works in the field of Bolivian and Peruvian bibliography. The present volumes of essays, interesting alike to the historian and the bibliographer, represent the best of historical scholarship and style in Spanish America.

Notas Históricas, etc. (first edition, Santiago, 1901). The volume opens with an account of the curious chronicle of Fray Antonio de la Calancha, the *Corónica Moralizada del Orden de San Augustin en el Perú,* printed at Barcelona in 1638, and reissued in 1639 with an altered title-page. The work, in 922 folio pages of text, is a history of the Augustinian missions in Peru, Quito, New Granada, and Chile, from their beginnings in 1551 to the year 1633, with interesting details of the physical features and social conditions of those provinces. Señor René-Moreno has admirably pointed out the merits and characteristics of this remarkable monument of early Spanish civilization and culture in America and opened the way to a first-hand study of it. Both issues of the work are exceedingly rare; but a copy of the 1639 edition is in the Library of Congress. The second essay, entitled "Union Americana", deals with the various conceptions of American union which have been

entertained since the Congress of Panama, and especially with the relations between Brazil and the Spanish-American countries. The third is devoted to a review of the life and writings of Mariano R. Terrazas, a prominent Bolivian journalist and politician (died 1878). The fourth, written in 1878, describes the journey from La Paz to the Pacific, and contains many interesting observations on the development of the means of communication in Bolivia. The last and most important deals with the history of the Audiencia de Charcas in Upper Peru (1559–1809), an institution which played an exceedingly important rôle throughout its existence, but which has not yet been adequately treated by the historian.

Más Notas Históricas, etc. The first essay of this volume is devoted to a review of the remarkable discourse prepared in the year 1811 by one of the judges of the Audiencia de Charcas, Don Mariano Alejo Alvarez, entitled: *Discurso sobre la Preferencia que deben tener los Americanos en los Empleos de América.* It was published at Lima, in 1820, for the first time, having been interdicted in 1811 before the author could read it. Apropos Señor René-Moreno indulges in an interesting analysis of the deeper causes of the Spanish-American revolution. The rest of the volume contains various narratives and original documents under the title "Informaciones verbales sobre los sucesos de 1809 en Chuquisaca", among which is some interesting information concerning the archbishop Moxó.

LUIS M. PÉREZ.

Three Phi Beta Kappa Addresses: a College Fetich, 1883; "Shall Cromwell Have a Statue?", 1902, Some Modern College Tendencies, 1906. By Charles Francis Adams. (Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1907. pp. vi, 200.) Mr. Adams has been well advised to collect these addresses in permanent form. While they can hardly be said to make a book of history at the present time, they will certainly be regarded by the future historian of education in the nineteenth century as an important part of his source-material. The present writer agrees too well with most of Mr. Adams's ideas to act as critic of them, but doubts the practicability of dividing Harvard, or any other long-established college, into distinct colleges. The private dormitory might very easily carry out the details of the suggestion which the author makes, if the owner were willing, and thus reproduce, as exactly as modern conditions allow, the master's hall in which the separate colleges of the medieval university began. The address which makes this proposition, that of 1906, is followed by a "Supplementary Note" reinforcing its arguments, and the book also includes two Harvard commencement speeches and an article from the Harvard Graduates' Magazine on the Tuition Fee.

TEXT-BOOKS.

An Advanced History of Great Britain from the Earliest Times to the Death of Queen Victoria. By T. F. Tout, M.A., Professor of Medieval and Modern History in the University of Manchester. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1906. Pp. xlii, 755.)

This book is intended for use in the higher schools of England. It is admirably fitted for its purpose. It is not too large, on the one hand, nor too small, on the other. It does not try to say everything on the subject of English history, and thus avoids the error of over-compression and excessive detail so common in almost all English text-books. Yet all the essential facts are set forth. The style is well suited to the object in view, being plain, direct, simple, concise, but not dry or hard.

In addition to the text the book contains sixty-three maps and plans, eight bibliographical lists, and a large number of genealogical tables. The bibliography is a little too scanty, but is excellent as far as it goes. The genealogical tables are brief and give precisely the needed information and no more. But above all, the maps are deserving of the highest commendation. They are of various sizes, from a page to less than a fourth of a page, done in black and white only, perfectly clear in detail, not overburdened with names, yet giving all the information which such maps ought to give. In brief, the maps are the best for their purpose which the writer has ever encountered in a text-book. The plans are open to the criticism that they are for the most part illustrative of battles, but for their purpose they are excellent.

Eight chapters of the book are devoted to what may be called the history of civilization in England. These chapters are well done, though they are necessarily very brief.

The scholarship displayed in the book must be heartily commended. The information is drawn from the best primary and secondary sources and is used with great discrimination. In only two points has the present reviewer found anything to criticize. One of these is in regard to the author's conception of Cromwell's position and character. Tout seems to have read the later works on Cromwell, but without having been much influenced by them. The second point in which he deserves criticism is in regard to Napoleon. He blames Napoleon for almost all the troubles of Europe after 1801. His dislike for Napoleon even goes so far as to impel him to spell Bonaparte, *Buonaparte*. This is a bit of almost inexcusable British arrogance.

There are a number of minor errors and of typographical mistakes. The following list may be found useful when the book reaches a second edition: It is not literally true that "before the Norman Conquest England stood quite isolated from the rest of the world"; on page 105 *king* should be *ring*; on page 165 *Henry IV.* should be *Henry III.*;

David, Prince of Wales, was hanged, not beheaded; on page 225 it is impossible to determine from the text whose uncle Thomas of Woodstock was; the account of the events connected with Wat Tyler's murder is not in accordance with the best information we have on that subject; *1836* on page 233 should be *1386*; it is not plain that Richard II. was "always anxious to be a despot"; the clerical members of the House of Lords did not form a majority of that body "all through the Middle Ages"; Sawtre was not a victim under the statute *de heretico comburendo*; it is not accurate to say that the Hussites were put down and that the orthodox party triumphed everywhere; was the *Kingis Quhair* written by James I. of Scotland? The statement that "for the six years that remained of his rule" Wolsey "never summoned another parliament", gives a false idea of the position of Wolsey. Cromwell's treatment of Wolsey was hardly as creditable as Tout supposes; it should be pointed out why Edward VI. could not assign the crown by will as could his father; the remark that Henry VIII. was forced to go over to the Protestants gives the impression that he was a Protestant, which is hardly correct; the story of the *Revenge* is questioned and had better be omitted; the Commons' Protestation of 1629 did not threaten those who "promoted Arminianism", but those who introduced Arminianism; the Army Plot was certainly not intended "to destroy the royal power"; Strafford did not exclaim "with his last breath", "Put not your trust in princes"; *brought* on page 448 should be *wrought*; the quotation from Milton on page 460 is not accurate; Pride did not purge out the Lords; the word *Rump* was not applied to the Parliament immediately after Pride's Purge; Cromwell was not given the power in the Humble Petition and Advice to name his successors, but only his successor, a very different matter; Charles II. did not claim to suspend "power", but acts; on page 485 *from* should be *for*; *La Hougue* should be *La Hogue*; *Salton* should be *Saltoun*; Braddock's expedition should be mentioned; the phrase "English ships" in the Navigation Act included ships built in the colonies; there was no Jacobin party, but only a Jacobin club—the extreme party was called Montagnard; Napoleon's absolute government did not end the Revolution; January, 1854, was not the "first time for many generations" that Englishmen and Frenchmen engaged in battle as allies.

On the whole, Tout's book may be unreservedly recommended for use in the freshman classes of American colleges and universities, as well as in the classes of the best American preparatory schools.

RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

A Short History of Social Life in England. By M. B. Synge, F. R. Hist. S. (New York, A. S. Barnes and Company, 1906, pp. xvi, 407.) A brief history of the social life of England would be extremely useful, if it were written by a scholar who knew the subject thoroughly. Unfortunately, Mr. Synge does not seem to be qualified for the task

he has undertaken. He has thrown together a mass of details, apparently without being able to determine which facts were worth being told, which were not, nor yet which were actually facts and which were only supposed to be such. He seems to have no well-ordered plan for presenting his material. He follows as far as possible a chronological order of arrangement, and this plan necessitates frequent and wearisome repetitions. Finally, he devotes too much space to political history, though he gives notice in his introduction that he will avoid doing so.

A few quotations will show better than anything else could the qualifications of Mr. Synge for his task. He informs us, for instance, that "when Hengist, the Saxon, brought his beautiful daughter Rowena to these shores she was introduced to the British king, Vortigern, at a royal banquet. Modestly advancing towards the king, according to the custom in her own country, she held out a golden cup of ale. 'Waes hael hlaford Conny' (Health to my lord), she said in her own tongue. The words were interpreted to the British King, and the memory of the event has been preserved in England by the wassail cup at banquets and festivals." Again he declares that the "Crusading fever is but the result of the new-born desire to minister to those in need and to relieve the oppressed." Samite, he thinks, was a mysterious kind of cloth; the Black Death created "for the first time that discord between the employer and employed which has been so marked a feature of economic England from the fourteenth century even to the present time", and up to that time "the whole system of social inequality had passed 'unquestioned as to the Divine order of the world'". He asserts that "no man died without bequeathing what he could to his parish church". Equality of the sexes was "a characteristic feature of the Middle Ages", though for insubordination wives "were apparently still beaten by their husbands". In the days of Henry VIII., he finds "the faint shadow of Protection creeping over the country". These statements are excellent examples of the writer's lack of accurate knowledge concerning the subjects about which he writes.

An objectionable feature of the book is its jingoistic tone, which is probably injected into the book with the idea that it is necessary for the cultivation of the patriotism of the growing English boy. There are also, of course, the sentimental and condescending references to Americans characteristic of the English public to-day: "For 'truly they come of the Blood,' and though some three hundred years have rolled away since our fathers left their English homes, and the little Puritan colonies have grown into a great and independent nation, yet their ancestors are our ancestors, and no width of stormy sea can wash out the old blood relationship which is a bond stronger than love, a force mightier than time."

There is no bibliography and no references to books which would supply fuller information upon the subjects treated.

RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

American History and Government. A Text-Book on the History and Civil Government of the United States. By JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, Ph.D., Professor of American History and Politics in Indiana University, and THOMAS FRANCIS MORAN, Ph.D., Professor of History and Economics in Purdue University. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1906. Pp. xix. 476, lxxxviii.)

THE authors of this work state their purpose to be "to set forth the essential facts in the History of the United States and to explain the general principles of our national and local government".

The book is designed for use as a text-book in the grammar schools. So large a proportion of public school pupils conclude their school work in the grammar grades, it is thought desirable that some study of civics and history should be a part of the curriculum of those grades. It is the intention to combine the usual work in history with the study of the main principles of our government in their historical setting. For this purpose the authors have prepared this manual, which is very like the usual grammar-school history, with nine very excellent chapters, including a history of the Old Confederation and its Failures, and the Making of the Constitution, and a clear and careful exposition of the machinery of the national government as provided by the Constitution. These sixty-seven pages are altogether the best part of the book. In clearness of statement and explanation they leave little to be desired.

The rest of the book is not so good. The style of the historical chapters is not attractive; the subject-matter is too condensed to be interesting. The division of paragraphs with the usual black-type headings is sometimes unfortunate. Too often the whole matter of the paragraph first appears in bold type, only to be repeated in smaller type below, much as is the case with the headlines in the newspaper. Paragraph-headings of any sort are of doubtful value. They leave too little to be done by the pupil. They interrupt the narrative and tend to destroy the curiosity of the reader. In some cases the heading contains what might better be left for the student to draw as a conclusion.

A few loose statements are noted in the text of the historical chapters. John Cabot is said to have sailed from Bristol in search of a "Northwest Passage" to Asia. As he was ignorant of any land between England and Asia there is no evidence that he was searching for a "Northwest Passage". George Calvert did not obtain a grant of land of "indefinite" boundaries, but his son Cecil obtained a charter giving him a grant with boundaries as well defined as circumstances would permit. The statement is made that in 1629 the patroon system was established in New Netherlands whereby "anyone" founding a settlement of fifty or more persons would be given a grant of land. The truth seems to be that in 1629 this privilege was offered by the famous charter of "Freedoms and Exemptions" to members of the West India Company

only, and that eleven years later in 1640 the privilege was extended to "all good inhabitants of the Netherlands". New Jersey and Connecticut were not "the only northern states which retained a property qualification for voting in 1837", for in Rhode Island the suffrage was so restricted until after Dorr's Rebellion.

In the main the spirit of the book is eminently fair and judicial, although it must be said that scant justice is done the English side of the argument in the matter of the Stamp Act, while in the discussion of the causes of the Mexican War there seems to be an undue desire to justify the action of the United States. In treating of Genet, and the relations between France and the United States in the administration of Washington no mention is made of the Treaty of 1778 which was ignored by the American government. It may be questioned whether it is quite fair to judge the action of England in the matter of "paper blockades" prior to the War of 1812 by the standard adopted by the great powers in the Declaration of Paris of 1856. The discussion of the Monroe Doctrine is inadequate, and is so condensed as to be misleading.

The maps and illustrations are well chosen. The well selected list of reference books in the back of the volume are evidently designed for the use of the teacher rather than of the pupil.

ARCHIBALD FREEMAN.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

John Andrew Doyle, historian of the American colonies, died on August 4 at his residence in South Wales. He was born in 1844 and educated at Eton and Oxford. During all his later years he was a fellow of All Souls, but he preferred his country life. It was remarkable that among the few Englishmen who have paid serious attention to the history of the major division of their race, the chief should be a country squire—keen sportsman, master of the harriers, rifle shot—of Mr. Doyle's type, conservative in mind, even tory in the non-political sense, and little in the habit of associating with Americans. The explanation lies perhaps in the winning of the Arnold Prize in 1869 by an essay, published that year, on *The American Colonies previous to the Declaration of Independence*. From this Mr. Doyle proceeded in 1876 to a text-book of general United States history in Freeman's series, and in 1882 to the publication of the first volume of his valued, but probably in America still undervalued, *English Colonies in America*. This volume, on Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, was followed four years later by two considerably better volumes on the Puritan colonies, and about a year ago by a fourth on the middle colonies, and a fifth, on the colonies under the house of Hanover. These volumes were sometimes marred by errors which one living in close contact with the main stream of historical work in America would not have committed; but they were not such as to affect the validity of his judgments of colonial men and things. These were, especially in political history, remarkably sound and penetrating, and doubtless the more so for the author's detachment; for he viewed our colonial history, as our own writers seldom do, with a mind made catholic by wide reading in the history of European statesmanship and culture, and by a healthy habit of comparison more easily maintained by the out-of-door man than by the cloistered student.

Mr. John R. Ficklen, professor of history in Tulane University, died at Chautauqua August 4, at the age of 48. Previously a teacher of Latin and of English, he had held the chair of history at New Orleans for eleven years. At the time of his death he was occupied in preparing a history of reconstruction in Louisiana. He was a sound scholar, and a gentleman of most engaging qualities.

We regret to have to chronicle the death, in June, of Miss Mary Louise Dalton, the energetic and valued librarian of the Missouri Historical Society, to whom it owes much of its recent advancement; and

that of Mr. Robert T. Swan, who had for nineteen years served the state of Massachusetts as commissioner of town and county records, and had, as may be seen by examination of his interesting and valuable reports, made his office a model of efficiency and of intelligent care for historical interests.

Sir Spencer Walpole, author of the *History of England from 1815*, six volumes, and *The History of Twenty-Five Years*, two volumes, died on July 6 aged sixty-eight. He held several civil offices and was secretary to the Post-Office from 1893 to 1899. Among his other writings are a life of his grandfather, Spencer Perceval, the prime minister, and a life of Lord John Russell.

The Rev. Ethelred L. Taunton, one of the most learned members of the English Roman Catholic clergy, died in London on May 9 in the fiftieth year of his age. Among his works are *A History of the Jesuits in England*, and *The English Black Monks of St. Benedict*. At the time of his death he was engaged upon a biography of Cardinal Pole which was intended to form a companion volume to his life of Cardinal Wolsey, published a few years ago.

Rev. Henry de B. Gibbins, economic historian and educator, died on August 12 in his forty-third year. From 1895 to 1899 he was vice-prinicipal of Liverpool College and headmaster of the grammar school; he then became headmaster of King Charles I. school, Kidderminster. Last year he was appointed principal of Lennoxville University, Canada. He possessed a pleasing literary style, and his books were widely read. His *Industrial History of England* went into ten editions in fifteen years, and his *Industry in England* and *The English People in the Nineteenth Century* are both in their third edition.

Jules Lair, member of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, died at Paris on May 16, aged seventy. Of his numerous writings, the greater part deal with medieval history and with the criticism of texts. In this class his *Étude sur la Vie et la Mort de Guillaume Longue-Épée, Duc de Normandie* (1893), and two volumes of *Études Critiques sur Divers Textes des X^e^ et XI^e^ Siècles* (1899) are most important. His study of Nicolas Fouquet (1890, two volumes) was crowned by the Academy. He was appointed by the Institute director of the monumental edition of the *Mémoires* of Richelieu.

M. Victor Tantet, assistant archivist of the ministry of the colonies in Paris, who had been of invaluable assistance to a whole generation of American investigators there, died in that city on June 11.

Dr. Moritz Brosch died in July at the age of seventy-eight. His best known work is *Neuere Geschichte von England von 1509 bis 1874*. He also wrote *Gründung des Kirchenstaats, Geschichte des Kirchenstaats, Bolingbroke und die Whigs und Tories seiner Zeit*, and *Cromwell und die Puritanische Revolution*.

At a meeting held in Trinity College, Cambridge, on June 1, it was resolved that The Frederic William Maitland Memorial Fund be established for the promotion of research and instruction in the history of law, and of legal language and institutions; that, if practicable, a personal memorial of the late Professor Maitland be obtained and placed in the Squire Law Library of the University of Cambridge; and that the balance of the fund be offered to the University to be held in trust for carrying out the object proposed. The general committee appointed to appeal for subscriptions includes the names of deans of the law faculties of several American universities, and of several other American lawyers and scholars. The *Cambridge University Reporter* of July 22 contains a full account of the proceedings at the meeting.

An Oxford University memorial to the late Professor Pelham is to take the form of a studentship in connection with the British School at Rome. The treasurer of the memorial fund is the Rector of Exeter College.

Mrs. W. E. H. Lecky would feel very much obliged if those who possess any letters from the late Mr. Lecky, which might be of use as a memoir, would kindly forward them to her, addressed to 38 Onslow Gardens, London, S. W. They will be returned in due course.

Professor Charles Gross of Harvard University plans to spend the present academic year in London, where he will edit for the Selden Society a volume on *The Law Merchant*.

Dr. Hervey M. Bowman of Berlin, Ontario, lately of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, has become a member of the staff of the Archives of the Dominion of Canada, and has begun investigations of the history of boundary questions between Canada and the United States.

At the University of Wisconsin Dr. Carl R. Fish and Dr. George C. Sellery have been promoted to associate professorships of American and European history respectively, Dr. U. B. Phillips to an assistant professorship of American history.

Dr. J. L. Conger has been elected professor of history in Knox College, Dr. Laurence M. Larson assistant professor in the University of Illinois.

Dr. William R. Manning of Purdue University has been elected associate professor of diplomatic history in the new school of political science established by the George Washington University.

Professor Frank G. Bates of Alfred University has become assistant professor of history and political science in the University of Kansas.

Dr. Arthur L. Cross and Dr. Frederic L. Paxson have been made junior professors of the University of Michigan.

Dr. Henry R. Spencer of Princeton has become a professor of American history in the Ohio State University.

Professor David Y. Thomas has become professor of history and political science in the University of Arkansas.

The American Historical Association will hold its twenty-fourth annual meeting at Madison, Wisconsin, December 27–31, 1907. Meetings of the American Economic, Political Science and Sociological Associations will be held at the same time and place. The American Historical Association will have sessions devoted to American economic history, to the European history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and to Western history, American and Canadian. There will be a conference of state and local historical societies, and one on the relations of history and geography. There will also be six simultaneous informal conferences of workers in medieval, modern European, Oriental, American colonial and American constitutional history, and in the history of the United States since 1865.

To the announcement made in our last issue (XII. 938) concerning the International Historical Congress to be held at Berlin August 6–12, 1908, we are now able to add that, by an important change from the practice of its predecessors of the Hague, Paris, and Rome, the Berlin congress will make no attempt at any other publication of its proceedings than such as is contained in the daily programme. The place of the next congress will be selected by vote of the whole body in the last general meeting. The *Atti* of the congress at Rome have been completed in a series of twelve important volumes. A strikingly large number of its recommendations have been adopted by the Italian and other governments and historical societies, so that many historical enterprises will trace their initiative to that meeting.

Under the general editorship of Dr. Georg Schuster, the Historical Society of Berlin has brought out the twenty-eighth annual volume of the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*, the volume for 1905 (Berlin, Wiedmann, pp. xii, 316, 519, 332, 326). This volume contains reports for the history of Egypt, the Hebrews, India, Persia, and Rome, two-thirds of the periods and states of Germany, medieval northern Italy, Spain, medieval France and Great Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden, Hungary, Islam, Japan, the United States (by Mr. Waldo G. Leland), Canada (by Mr. H. H. Langton), *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte*, and church history. It is announced that reports will hereafter be made on the history of China and on that of Central and South America, the latter by Mr. Hiram Bingham, jr.

The Century Company announces a series of histories under the general editorship of Professor George L. Burr of Cornell University, in about ten volumes, which will begin to appear during 1908 or early in 1909. When completed the series will form a history of the world from the viewpoint of modern scholarship, characterized by emphasis upon those events and forces in the past which bear upon the permanent elements of civilization and help to explain and illuminate the life and

problems of today. The first volume will be an *Introduction to the Study of History*, by Professor Burr; two others will deal with the ancient world. The Middle Ages, to about 1273, will be treated by Professor Dana C. Munro of the University of Wisconsin; the Renaissance and Reformation, to about 1598, by Professor Earle W. Dow of the University of Michigan; the period from about 1598 to 1748 by Professor Wilbur C. Abbott of the University of Kansas; the Revolutionary period, 1748–1815, by Professor Henry E. Bourne of Western Reserve University; and the nineteenth century, from 1815, by Professor William E. Lingelbach of the University of Pennsylvania. A volume of contemporary history, including Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America, is also in contemplation and special volumes on Greater Britain from about 1500 and on the United States.

Last year's lectures in the series of "American Lectures on the History of Religion" were given by Professor Maurice Bloomfield of the John Hopkins University. They are now brought out in book form, *The Religion of the Veda, from Rig-Veda to Upanishads* (Putnam).

In 1908 the Angrand prize of 5,000 francs will be awarded at the Bibliothèque Nationale for the best work published from 1903 to 1907 in France or abroad on the history, ethnography, archaeology or linguistics of the races indigenous to America before the arrival of Columbus. Ten copies of each competing work should be sent to the secretary of the Library.

In volume IX. fascicle 9 of the *Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, Geschichte und Deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik* (1906, pp. 601–658 and p. 727) K. Krumbacher discusses in detail the value of photography in archaeological studies and advocates its application to the reproduction of manuscripts.

The Roman historical journal, *Annales de St.-Louis*, organ of the French establishment at that convent, ceased to appear in October, 1906. It is now proposed to resume its publication if sufficient support be assured. It will continue to print the results of research in the Vatican archives and elsewhere, of archaeological explorations, and unedited texts. The treasurer of the new editorial staff is Abbé P. Calmet, 5 Via S. Luigi dei Francesi, Rome.

Professors K. Brandi of Göttingen, H. Bresslau of Strassburg and M. Tangl of Berlin will publish an *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* (Leipzig, Veit) which will be issued in fascicles at irregular intervals. Although texts will not be entirely excluded, the *Archiv* will be devoted principally to studies on various questions pertaining to diplomatic, especially to the history of chanceries.

The sixth *Table Générale* of the *Revue Historique* (Paris, Alcan, 1907, pp. 120) appears to be a very complete index to the volumes issued

from 1901 through 1905. One section of the index includes references to nearly 4,000 works noted in the "Bulletins", reviews, and *chronique*.

Die Geschichte der Menscheit (Bondi, Berlin), by Professor K. Breysig of Berlin, will treat of the various stages of development in the history of mankind. The first volume deals with *Die Amerikaner des Nordwestens und des Nordens.*

The two remaining volumes of the translation of Dr. H. F. Helmolt's *The World's History* will be issued by Mr. Heinemann before the end of the year. They are entitled *The Teuton and Latin Races* and *Western Europe since 1800.*

The municipal council of Paris has given the funds necessary to create at the College of France in October a chair for the history of labor.

Historische Geographie (Berlin, Oldenbourg, 1907, pp. vii, 650) by Professor Konrad Kretschmer of Berlin deals with various periods from ancient to modern times and treats of physical, political, and cultural geography. Under the last head are studied settlements, colonization, exploitation of the soil, commerce, and public works.

An elaborate *Dictionnaire d'Histoire, de Biographie et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques,* compiled by Monsignor A. Baudrillart, rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris, A. Vogt of Fribourg, U. Rouziès, and numerous collaborators, will be published by Letouzey and Ané, Paris, in the same form as the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* and the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* now being issued by this house.

The *Bulletin* of the Society for the Progress of Philological and Historical Studies (Brussels) contains abstracts of the communications made at the session of May 12, when Canon Cauchie spoke of the assemblies of the French clergy and their financial rôle under the Old Régime and M. Pirenne spoke on recent researches into the historical origins of capitalism.

Studien zur Frühromantischen Politik und Geschichtsauffassung (1907, pp. viii, 113) by A. Poetzsch, forms the third *Heft* in Professor Karl Lamprecht's *Beiträge zur Kultur- und Universalgeschichte* (Leipzig, Voigtländer), earlier contributions to which were noted in our last number.

Teachers of history will doubtless find many valuable suggestions in the volume entitled *L'Enseignement de l'Histoire* (Paris, Impr. Nationale, 1907, pp. 191), containing conferences of the Musée Pédagogique held in 1907. The contributors are MM. Ch. Seignobos, Ch.-V. Langlois, L. Gallouédec, and M. Tourneur.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Sieger, *Zur Behandlung der Historischen Länderkunde* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVIII. 2).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The second part of the *Tebtunis Papyri* (1907, pp. xv, 485), edited by Dr. B. P. Grenfell, Dr. A. S. Hunt, and Professor E. J. Goodspeed, deals with papyri found in the houses of Tebtunis, dating mostly from the first three centuries of the Christian era. The excavations were undertaken for the University of California, on behalf of which Mr. Frowde is publishing the series. The first volume was published in 1902.

An excellent account of what has been accomplished in Palestinian explorations and excavations is presented in *Canaan d'après l'Exploration Récente* (Paris, Lecoffre) by Father Hugues Vincent.

Professor E. Sellin of the University of Vienna, first director of the German Archaeological School at Jerusalem, has contributed to the proceedings of the Vienna Academy of Sciences his preliminary report on the excavations made by that school on the site of the Biblical Jericho, resulting in the discovery of the remnants of public buildings and of private houses, the latter chiefly belonging to the Canaanitish and prehistoric age, and of many domestic objects.

Sidon: a Study in Oriental History (Macmillan, 1907, pp. vii, 172) by Professor F. Carl Eiselen of the Garrett Biblical Institute at Evanston, Illinois, is a recent volume of the Columbia University Oriental Series, containing an account of the Phoenician city from the earliest times down to the present day.

A detailed report of archaeological explorations in Chinese Turkestan, carried out and described under the orders of the government of India by M. Aurel Stein, has been published by the Oxford University Press under the title *Ancient Khotan* (1907, two volumes).

The Austrian Archaeological Institute has published the first volume of what promises to be a magnificent series descriptive of the *Forschungen in Ephesos* (Vienna, Alfred Holder) carried on by the Institute since 1894. The book includes a full discussion of Ephesian historical topography by Professor Benndorf, the first director of the explorations.

In J. Sundwall's *Epigraphische Beiträge zur sozial-politischen Geschichte Athens im Zeitalter des Demosthenes* (Leipzig, Kreysing, 1906, pp. vi, 92) the author concludes that in the time of Demosthenes the government of Athens was by no means so completely in the hands of the proletariat as is commonly supposed. The lists of officials regularly show a disproportionate number of names from wealthy families.

A study of *The General, Civil and Military Administration of Noricum and Raetia* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1907, pp. 69) by Mary B. Peaks, reprinted from volume IV. of *Studies in Classical Philology*, includes lists of the governors of these provinces, of the officers and soldiers of the legions stationed there, and of the *alae* and cohorts stationed or raised there.

J. Toutain has published a detailed study, based on new inscriptions, of *Le Cadastre de l'Afrique Romaine*, in the memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, XII. 1, 1907.

Documentary publications: L. W. King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings, including Records of the Early History of the Kassites* (Luzac, 1907, 2 vols.).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Flach, *Le Code de Hammourabi et la Constitution Originaire de la Propriété dans l'Ancienne Chaldée*, I. (Revue Historique, July–August); W. S. Ferguson, *Researches in Athenian and Delian Documents*, I. (Klio, VII. 2); F. F. Abbott, *The Story of Two Oligarchies* (Arena, June); F. W. Kelsey, *The Cues of Caesar* (The Classical Journal, December) [treats of the composition of the *Gallic War* and *Civil War*].

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The interesting little volume entitled *Les Légendes Hagiographiques*, by Father Hippolyte Delehaye, of the Bollandist Society, has been translated into English by Mrs. Virginia M. Crawford and published by Messrs. Longmans—*The Legends of the Saints: an Introduction to Hagiography* (pp. xx, 241).

A revised and enlarged edition of Dr. Henry Charles Lea's *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church* is to be published immediately by the Macmillan Company.

Dom Chr. Baur's work on *Saint Jean Chrysostome et ses Oeuvres dans l'Histoire Littéraire* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1907, pp. xii, 312) forms the eighteenth fascicle of the series published by the members of the historical and philological conferences of the University of Louvain. The author has aimed at bringing together the principal indications concerning the authority and influence exercised in the church during fifteen centuries by Saint John Chrysostom. Much bibliographical information is included.

M. Félix Mouret presents some new archaeological and documentary evidence relating to *Sulpice Sévère à Primuliac* (Paris, Picard, 1907, pp. 236) tending to support the hypothesis that Sulpitius spent his later years at Primuliac, and identifying it with a place near Béziers.

Documentary publications: C. H. Turner, *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Juris Antiquissima*, vol. II., part 1., *Concilia Ancyritanum et Neocaesariense* (Frowde, 1907); F. Cavallera, *Les Fragments de Saint Amphiloque dans l'Hodegos et le Tome Dogmatique d'Anastase le Sinaïte* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. Callewaert, *Les Persécutions contre les Chrétiens dans la Politique Religieuse de l'Empire Romain* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); H. Koch, *Die Kirchenbusse*

des Kaisers Theodosius des Grosses in Geschichte und Legende (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVIII. 2).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The first volume of the *Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Paderborn, Schoningh, 1907, pp. xi, 458) by Georg Grupp embraces the period from the fall of the Roman Empire to the Carolingians. The greater part of the book consists of a detailed account of the manners and institutions of the Germanic peoples established in the old Roman Empire.

La Translation des Saints Marcellin et Pierre (Paris, Champion, 1907, pp. 116), a study of Einhard and his political life from 827 to 834 by Marguerite Bondois, forms fascicle 160 of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études.*

In a volume entitled *Étude sur les Fausses Décrétales* (Louvain, Ch. Peeters, 1907, pp. 121) P. Fournier brings together the articles on this subject contributed by him to the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, VII. 1–4 and VIII. 1.

The new edition of *Nithardi Historiarum Libri IIII.* (Hannover, Hahn, 1907, pp. xiv, 61) by E. Müller in the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* marks an important advance in the critical study of this work. The poem of Angelbert on the battle of Fontenoy, 842, is included in the volume.

Professor G. Kurth has published a study on *La Lèpre en Occident avant les Croisades* (Paris, Bloud, 1907, pp. 63).

M. Joseph Bédier, who succeeded to the professorships formerly held by Gaston Paris, will shortly publish through the house of Champion a collection of *Chansons de Croisades,* for which M. P. Aubry has reconstructed the music and a work entitled *Les Légendes Épiques,* studies of the origin and formation of the *chansons de geste.*

Under the title *The Mirror of the Times: Mir'ât az-Zamân,* Professor J. R. Jewett has published through the Chicago University Press a magnificent facsimile reproduction of a manuscript of the Landberg collection of Arabic manuscripts belonging to Yale, containing an account by Sibt ibn al-Jauzi of the period from 1101 to 1257, the year of the author's death. Many events important in the history of the Crusades are narrated.

Father H. Delehaye reviews the principal sources of information concerning the saints of Cyprus, and prints some hitherto unpublished texts, in a work entitled *Saints de Chypre* (Brussels, Polleunis, 1907, pp. 161–304) reprinted from the *Analecta Bollandiana,* XXVI.

M. Achille Luchaire has recently added to his series of works relating to Innocent III. a volume entitled *Innocent III.: La Question d'Orient* (Paris, Hachette, 1907, pp. 307).

Dr. David S. Schaff, son of the late Dr. Philip Schaff, has added to the well-known *History of the Christian Church*, written by his father, a volume filling a part of the gap left in that work at the original author's death. It is designated as volume V., part 1., *The Middle Ages*, and extends from Gregory VII. to Boniface VIII., from which point it is to be presumed that a second part will continue the work to the beginning of the German Reformation, dealt with by Dr. Philip Schaff in his sixth volume.

An important epoch in the history of studies of medieval India and Central Asia was marked by the publication in 1857 of M. Stanislaus Julien's translation of the diary of sixteen years of Indian pilgrimage (A. D. 629–645) kept by the Chinese Buddhist Hiouen Thsang (as the name has usually been spelled, after M. Julien's example). A vast amount of learned comment on text and translation, topography, and archaeology, summing up the results of the last fifty years of such study, is conveyed in the two volumes *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, by the late Thomas Watters, edited for the Royal Asiatic Society by Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids and Mr. S. W. Bushell.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Manitius, *Geschichtliches aus Mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen* (Neues Archiv, XXXII. 3); M. Jusselin, *Notes Tironiennes dans les Diplomes* (Le Moyen Age, May–June); W. Turner, *Irish Teachers in the Carolingian Revival of Learning* (Catholic University Bulletin, July); F. Lot, *La Question des Fausses Décrétales* (Revue Historique, July–August); J. Haller, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIX. 1) [reviews Dr. W. Norden's work of the same title]; J. v. Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Papstwahlen und das Kaisertum* (*1046–1328*), III. (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XXVIII. 2).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

In the May number of the *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Father Fidel Fita gives a full account of the series of *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, published by the Jesuit fathers of the Peninsula since 1894.

Pie VI., sa Vie, son Pontificat (*1717–1799*) (Paris, Picard, 1907) a work in two volumes by Jules Gendry, canon of the cathedral of Nantes, is based upon researches in the Vatican archives and contains hitherto unpublished documents.

Under the direction of the historical section of the General Staff of the French army the following works have recently been published through the house of Chapelot, Paris: *La Campagne Maritime de 1805: Trafalgar*, by E. Desbrière; *Les Opérations Militaires sur la Sambre en 1794: Bataille de Fleurus*, by Commandant V. Dupuis; and *Les Préliminaires de la Guerre de la Succession d'Autriche*, by M. Sautai.

The third volume of Professor Oman's *History of the Peninsular War* will be published this autumn by the Oxford University Press. The second volume, which brought the narrative down to September, 1809, was published in 1903.

Napoléon et la Suède: L'Élection de Bernadotte (Paris, Impr. Nationale, 1907, pp. 32), by M. P. Coquelle, correspondent of the Ministry of Public Instruction, is based on unpublished documents in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in the Archives Nationales.

A. Dreux's *Dernières Années de l'Ambassade en Allemagne de M. de Gontaut-Biron* (1874–1877) (Paris, Plon) is based on the diplomatic papers of M. de Gontaut.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Willaert, *Négociations Politico-Religieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas Catholiques (1598–1625): II. Intervention des Souverains Anglais en Faveur du Protestantisme aux Pays-Bas*, VII. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July); J. F. Chance, *The Northern Pacification of 1719–1720*, I. (English Historical Review, July); E. Daudet, *Autour du Congrès d'Aix-la-Chapelle, 1818* (Le Correspondant, July 10); E. Daniels, *Oesterreich und der Krimkrieg* (Preussische Jahrbücher, July); H. Welschinger, *La France, l'Autriche et l'Italie en 1870* (Le Correspondant, July 25); P. Matter, *Bismarck et les Colonies Françaises* (Revue Bleue, August 10).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

In the July number of the *Revue Historique*, M. Charles Bémont continues his review of recent works relating to English history.

The papers to be read before the Royal Historical Society during the coming season will include studies by Professor Firth on ballads of the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.; by Dr. C. Cotton on the Bardon Papers, which contain some materials relating to the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots; by Miss Evelyn Fox on the diary of an Elizabethan gentlewoman, Lady Hoby of Yorkshire; and by Mr. Basil Williams on the family of Yorke in the early part of the reign of George III., from unpublished Hardwicke MSS. A paper on Indian history and the second part of Sir Henry Howorth's study of Julius Caesar may also be given.

During the course of next year it is hoped to begin the reissue of the *Dictionary of National Biography* in a less expensive and more compendious form, comprising one-third of the present number of volumes.

The Date of the First Shaping of the Cuchulainn Saga (London, Frowde, 1907, pp. 34) by Mr. Willian Ridgeway, has been reprinted from the second volume of the *Proceedings of the British Academy*. The author concludes that the poems took shape not much later than

100 A. D. and possibly a century earlier; also, that the race who are represented in the epic are the tall, fair-haired, grey-eyed Celts of Britain and the Continent.

In *The Governance of London: Studies on the Place occupied by London in English Institutions* (Unwin, 1907, pp. 418) Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, the well-known writer on local institutions, argues that London remained essentially Roman in constitution far into the medieval period.

A study of the English tin mines and their history under the title *The Stannaries*, by George Randall Lewis, is announced as the third volume in the series of "Harvard Economic Studies".

A History of the Jews in England, by Albert M. Hyamson, has lately been published for the Jewish Historical Society by Messrs. Macmillan and Company.

A scholarly revised translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of England* (Bell and Sons) with introduction, life, and notes by Miss A. M. Sellar, late vice-principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, aims at giving in brief and convenient form the substance of the views held by trustworthy authorities.

Manx Crosses, by P. M. C. Kermode (London, Benrose and Sons) is a sumptuous and authoritative volume, by one who has devoted many years to the subject, and who treats it with the utmost completeness. More than half the crosses and inscriptions described, Ogam and runic, are now for the first time fully published.

Mr. Charles Dawson's illustrated brochure on *The "Restorations" of the Bayeux Tapestry* is published by Elliot Stock, London (1907, pp. 14).

Miss Bertha H. Putnam's monograph on *The Enforcement of the Statute of Laborers* will be published in the "Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law".

John Leland's *Itinerary*, edited by Miss Lucy Toulmin-Smith, has been published by George Bell and Sons, London.

Lord Burghley's Map of Lancashire in 1590, with notes by J. Gillow (privately printed for the Catholic Record Society, 1907, pp. 82) reproduces a map in the British Museum which the preface states to be a copy made for Lord Burghley of a colored map on vellum in the Record Office "no doubt drawn up for the Privy Council to enable the government to bring extra pressure upon the great landowners to conform to the new doctrines". The letter-press consists of biographical and genealogical notes on the manorial families and the later history of their estates.

The Clarendon Press has brought out a new edition of the *Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen*, taken out of Hakluyt and edited by the late

Mr. E. J. Payne (Oxford, pp. lxxii, 415). The previous editions (1880, 1893, 1900) have been condensed into one by the omission of the last voyage and last letter of Thomas Cavendish, of Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana*, and of the introductory matter relating to those texts. Mr. C. R. Beazley furnishes some additional notes for the present convenient issue of these interesting narratives. The Press also issues separately (pp. lvi, 280) *The Voyages of Hawkins, Frobisher and Drake.*

Mr. J. A. R. Marriott has written a comprehensive biography of Lord Falkland under the title *The Life and Times of Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland* (Putnams, 1907).

The series of *Acts of the Privy Council*, edited by J. R. Dasent, has been completed, so far as present plans extend, by the issue of the volume for 1601–1604.

Professor Wolfgang Michael of Freiburg has written a life of *Cromwell* (Berlin, Hofman, two volumes) for the German "Heroes" series. While largely based on printed secondary sources, the narrative is also drawn from manuscript sources found in London and Sweden and in the secret archives of Berlin.

The Union of 1707: A Survey of Events (Glasgow, Outram, 1907, pp. 205) is a collection of eighteen articles reprinted from the *Glasgow Herald*, with an introduction by Professor Hume Brown. The other writers are Mr. R. S. Rait, Mr. A. Lang, Mr. James Mackinnon, Mr. W. Law Mathieson, Mr. W. R. Scott, Mr. R. Renwick, Mr. James Colville, Mr. J. H. Millar, and Professor R. Lodge. The text of the Articles of Union is included.

Simultaneously with the issue of the interesting second and third volumes of the Historical Commission's *Calendar of the Stuart Papers* it is announced that a large mass of additional Stuart papers has been "recently discovered" at Windsor Castle, which will require the issue of supplements to all three of the volumes already prepared there.

A monograph by N. A. Brisco on *The Economic Policy of Robert Walpole* is announced for publication in the "Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law".

The English translation of Dr. Albert von Ruville's life of Chatham is to be published in this country by Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The second volume of the official *History of the War in South Africa* (Hurst and Blackett, 1907) extends from Lord Roberts's relief of Kimberley to the defence of Ladysmith. Forty-nine maps and panoramas are included.

British government publications: *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry VI.*, vol. II., 1429–1436; vol. III., 1436–1441; *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* on the Stuart Papers preserved at Windsor Castle, vol. III., October 1, 1716–February 28, 1717.

Other documentary publications: *Great Roll of the Pipe* for the twenty-fourth year of the reign of King Henry II., 1177–1178 (London, Spottiswood); M. D. Harris, *The Coventry Leet Book or Mayor's Register*, I. [Early English Text Society, CXXXIV.] (London, Kegan Paul); Sir Thomas Gray, *Scalacronica*: The Reigns of Edward I., Edward II., and Edward III., translated by Sir Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow, MacLehose, 1907, pp. xix, 195); J. W. Clark, *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*, 1295–1296, with an introduction by the late Professor F. W. Maitland (Cambridge University Press, pp. 456); R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book H.*, circa 1375–1399 (J. E. Francis, pp. lvii, 527); David, Lord Elcho, *A Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland in the years 1744, 1745, 1746*, with memoir and notes by the Hon. Evan Charteris (Edinburgh, Douglas, pp. 477); A. F. Steuart, *The Woodhouselee MS.*, narrating events in and near Edinburgh during Prince Charles's occupation of the city in 1745 (Edinburgh, Chambers, 1907).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Loserth, *Wiclifs Lehre vom Wahren und Falschen Papsttum* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIX. 2); R. G. Marsden, *The Vice-Admirals of the Coast* (English Historical Review, July); V. M. Montagu, *The Scottish College in Paris* (The Scottish Historical Review, July); R. Dewar, *Burnet on the Scottish Troubles* (The Scottish Historical Review, July); G. H. Orpen, *Motes and Norman Castles in Ireland*, II. (English Historical Review, July).

FRANCE

The Grand Prix Gobert has been awarded to M. Charles Bémont for his edition of the *Rôles Gascons* (9000 francs) and to M. Louis Halphen for his volume entitled *Le Comté d'Anjou au XI^e^ Siècle* (1000 francs).

The fourth volume of the invaluable Manuals of Historical Bibliography published by Picard, Paris, is a *Bibliographie Générale des Cartulaires Français ou relatifs à l'Histoire de France* (1907, pp. xv, 627) by Henri Stein, joint author with M. Ch.-V. Langlois of the first volume of this series—*Les Archives de l'Histoire de France*.

A *Catalogue des Actes d'Henri I^er^, Roi de France*, 1031–1060 (Paris, Champion, 1907), compiled by Frédéric Soehnée, archivist of the Archives Nationales, forms fascicle 161 of the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études.

Part of a work which promises to be of the greatest merit has appeared in the two first volumes of the *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Prouille* (Paris, Picard, 1907, pp. cccli, 286; 355) by M. Jean Guiraud, of the University of Besançon. These volumes contain an excellent introduction of 351 pages on Albigensianism in Languedoc in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and a collection of 534 documents (charters, bulls, etc.) relating to the monastery. A third volume will

soon be published containing the text of the canonical visitation made in 1340 by the provincial prior of Toulouse, with a preface on the administration of the ecclesiastical domains.

Étude sur l'Humanisme Français: Guillaume Budé, by Dr. Louis Delaruelle, forms fascicle 162 of the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études.

The Society of Breton Bibliophiles publishes this year a collection by M. Letaconnoux of *Documents Administratifs concernant la Bretagne sur la Fin du Règne de Louis XIV.* and *L'Histoire Inédite des Bretons* by Pierre le Baud, edited by M. de Calan. It will shortly print the *Procès-Verbaux des États de Bretagne et Documents Annexes, de l'Avènement de François Ier à Henri III.*, edited by M. de Calan.

M. Albert Vandal of the French Academy treats of *La République Consulaire* (Paris, Plon, 1907) in the second volume of his work on *L'Avènement de Bonaparte.*

The third and fourth volumes of Colonel Theodore A. Dodge's *Napoleon* are announced for publication this autumn by Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin, and Company.

Étienne Cabet et les Origines du Communisme Icarien jusqu' à 1834 and *Histoire de la Communauté Icarienne* (1848–1849) are the titles of doctoral theses sustained by M. Prudhommeaux before the faculty of letters of Paris. The opinions of the jury of award are given in the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* for May, which also contains a document of the year 1848 from the office of the prefect of police, edited by M. Pierre Caron, containing lists of the principal agents of Cabet in France.

Le Second Empire, 1852–1870 (Paris, Rouff, 1907, pp. 392) by M. Albert Thomas, with a preface by M. Charles Andler, is the tenth volume in the *Histoire Socialiste* edited by M. Jean Jaurès.

The twelfth volume of Émile Ollivier's great work, *L'Empire Libéral: Études, Récits, Souvenirs* (Paris, Garnier, 1907) brings the narrative to the outbreak of the war of 1870.

Professor A. Debidour continues his *Histoire des Rapports de l'Église et de l'État en France* by the issue of two volumes on *L'Église Catholique et l'État sous la Troisième République* (Paris, Alcan).

The third volume of Gabriel Hanotaux's *Contemporary France* (Putnam's) translated by J. C. Tarver, covers the years 1874–1877.

Documentary publications: C. Faure, *Trois Chartes de Franchises du Dauphiné* [Réaumont, 1311; Beaucroissant, 1312; Rives, 1340] (Paris, Larose and Tenin, pp. 25); C. Nicoullaud, *Mémoires de la Comtesse de Boigne, née d'Osmond*, II., 1815–1819 (Paris, Plon, 1907, pp. 439).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Sée, *Les Classes Rurales en Bretagne du XVIe Siècle à la Révolution* (Annales de Bretagne, April);

J. Letaconnoux, *Le Régime de la Corvée en Bretagne au XVIII^e Siècle*, con. (Annales de Bretagne, April); A. Aulard, *Taine Historien de la Révolution Française*, VIII. (La Révolution Française, August 14); H. Carré, *Les Parlements et la Convocation des États Généraux*, I., II. (La Révolution Française, July 14, August 14); A. Mathiez, *La France et Rome sous la Constituante d'après la Correspondance du Cardinal Bernis*, II. *Pie VI., Avignon et le Comtat* (La Révolution Française, August 14); Dr. Magnac, *Le Fédéralisme en 1793 et 1794* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); R. Guyot and F. Thénard, *Le Conventionnel Goujon*, concl. (Revue Historique, July–August); L. Picard, *La Préparation d'une Campagne de Napoléon: La Transformation de l'Armée Républicaine en Armée Impériale*, I. (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); L. de Lanzac de Laborie, *Les Débuts du Régime Concordataire à Paris: L'Épiscopat du Cardinal de Belloy, 1802–1808* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); J. v. Pflugk-Harttung, *Napoleon während der Schlacht bei Belle Alliance*, II. (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVIII. 2); P. Gaffarel, *L'Occupation Étrangère à Marseille en 1815*, I., II. (La Révolution Française, June 14, July 14).

ITALY, SPAIN

Gli Archivi della Storia d'Italia, which was directed by the late Professor Giuseppe Mazzatinti, will be continued by State Archivist Giustiniano degli Azzi Vitelleschi. The fifth volume will contain a general index to the first series, an inventory of the state archives of Lucca and an inventory of a number of communal archives, including those of Florence.

At the annual general meeting held in April of the Reale Deputazione sovra gli Studi di Storia Patria per le Antiche Provincie e la Lombardia, it was stated that works by the following authors were in preparation for publication in the *Monumenta*: Signori Lippi, *Gli Statuti dell'Isola e Regno di Sardegna*; Cipolla, *Atlante Bobbiese*; Frutaz and Schiaparelli, *Carte Augustane*; Wenzel, Boffito, and Ramuzzi, *Codice Diplomatico delle Relazioni fra la Casa di Savoia e la S. Sede*; Casanova, *Cartario della Berardenga*; Manno, *Bibliografia Storica degli Stati della Monarchia di Savoia*, VIII.

Messrs. Methuen in London and Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons in New York are beginning the publication of a new series edited by Edward Armstrong and R. L. Douglas, "Historic States of Italy", of which *Milan: The House of Sforza*, by Miss C. M. Ady, will be ready this autumn, while volumes on *Naples: The House of Anjou* and *Milan: The House of Visconti* are in preparation; Messrs. Putnam also announce "The Romance of History Series", opening with *Elizabeth and Philip; or, the Whole Story of the Spanish Armada*, by Major Martin Hume.

The fourth number of the *Archivio Muratoriano* contains an extended reply by G. Monticolo to a criticism of his edition of Marino

Sanudo's *Vite dei Dogi*, and articles by L. A. Botteghi on the *Annales Sanctae Justinae Patavini*, and by A. Tallone on an historical poem of Antonio Astesano on the earthquake of 1456, the text of which is here first printed.

Domenico Ciàmpoli has compiled from manuscript and printed sources a full if not a complete collection of the political and military writings of Giuseppe Garibaldi, which is announced for publication by Henri Voghera, Rome. The volume will contain about one thousand pages and will include illustrations and indexes.

The *Roman Journals* of Ferdinand Gregorovius, translated by Mrs. G. W. Hamilton from the second German edition, edited by Friedrich Althaus, will be published in London during the autumn by Messrs. Bell. Besides having a biographical interest, the work presents a picture of the modern transformation of Rome and Italy, of which from 1852 until 1874 the author was an eye-witness.

The publication of a new monthly review entitled *Empori* and printed in the Catalan language has been begun at Barcelona during the current year. The first number contains an article by Señor Rubió y Lluch on the authenticity of the celebrated chronicle attributed to James I.

Volumes three and four of the *Colección de Documentos para el Estudio de la Historia de Aragon* will soon be issued. The former contains the *Documentos Pinatenses Reales, correspondientes al Reinado de Sancho Ramírez* (1063–1094); the latter, the *Documentos Pinatenses Particulares*, relating to the same reign.

The fourth and concluding volume of Dr. H. C. Lea's *History of the Inquisition of Spain* will be published this fall by Macmillan.

The *Casa de Contratación de las Indias* is the subject of a study, said to be important, by Señor Piernas Hurtado, published in the review *Lectura* of Madrid, sixth year, I. 99, 203, 311; II. 1ff. The author indicates various topics for further investigation connected with West Indian commerce, and gives bibliographical references and information touching the archives of Seville and Madrid.

M. Rodriguez Villa has written a biography of *Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza y Sandoval, Conde de la Corzana* (1650–1720), who took an active part in the War of the Spanish Succession and represented the house of Austria as plenipotentiary at Utrecht. The book, which is based on numerous documents, is published by the house of Fortanet (Madrid, 1907, pp. 333).

Documentary publications: E. Bertanza and G. dalla Santa, *Documenti per la Storia della Cultura in Venezia: Maestri, Scuole e Scuolari a Venezia fino al 1500* [Monumenti Storici pubblicati dalla R. Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria, first series, vol. XII.] (Venice, 1907. pp. xxii, 405); *Chartularium Studii Bononiensis*, documents for the his-

tory of the University of Bologna from its origin to the fifteenth century (Bologna, Beltrami, pp. 112); G. Bourgin, *Documents Italiens sur Cagliostro et la Francmaçonnerie* (Revue Historique, July–August).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. Espejo, *Sobre Organización de la Hacienda Española en el Siglo XVI.*, I. (Cultura Española, May).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

The *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* for May contains an account of the progress made in the publication of the various historical series now being issued by the historical commissions of Bavaria, Saxony, Baden and by the Hansische Geschichtsverein.

The seventh edition of the Dahlmann-Waitz *Quellenkunde der Deutschen Geschichte* (Leipzig, Dieterich) has been completed by the issue of an *Ergänzungsband* (pp. 150) containing references to the publications of 1905–1906 and the index.

The task of re-editing the catalogues of the medieval libraries of Germany has been undertaken by the federation (Cartell) of the five academies of Berlin, Göttingen, Leipzig, Munich, and Vienna.

The sixth volume of the *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich IV. und Heinrich V.* (Leipzig, 1907, pp. xii, 398) by G. Meyer von Knonau, narrates in the form of annals usual to this series, with very abundant annotations, the history of Germany from 1106–1116.

Luther's Table Talk: a Critical Study (Macmillan, 1907, pp. 135) by Preserved Smith is number 2 of volume XXVI. of the "Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law".

The "Relation" by Sydenham Poyntz, an English volunteer and later a prominent Parliamentary officer, of his experiences during the first half of the Thirty Years' War, will be issued this year in the Camden Series of the Royal Historical Society. The editor of the volume is the Rev. A. T. S. Goodrick.

The Commission for the Modern History of Austria has published two volumes dealing with the central administration of Austria from the time of Maximilian I. to 1749. The first volume contains a *Geschichtliche Uebersicht* (Vienna, A. Holzhausen, 1907, pp. xii, 288); the second is made up of *Aktenstücke*, 1491–1681 (1907, pp. viii, 664). Both volumes were begun by T. Fellner and completed after his death by H. Kretschmayr.

Der Staatliche Exporthandel Oesterreichs von Leopold I. bis Maria Theresia (Vienna, Braumüller, 1907), by Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, is a detailed account, based upon an examination of the archives of Vienna and Grätz, of the development of the Austrian export trade from 1658 to 1740, with especial reference to the production of mercury and copper.

Le Compromis de 1868 entre la Hongrie et la Croatie et celui de 1867 entre l'Autriche et la Hongrie is an historical and critical study by G. Horn, editor of the *Nouvelle Revue Pratique de Droit International Privé* (Paris, Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1907, pp. 256).

R. Wackernagel, archivist of Basel, is writing a *Geschichte der Stadt Basel* (Basel, Helbing and Lichtenhahn) which is everywhere drawn directly from the sources and is of much general as well as local interest. The first volume comes down to the year 1450 (1907, pp. xv, 646, with a plan of the city in the Middle Ages).

Documentary publications: F. Novák, *Acta Innocentii VI., 1352–1362* [*Monumenta Vaticana Res Gestas Bohemicas Illustrantia*, II.] (Prague, F. Řivnáč, 1907, pp. li, 655); F. W. Battenberg, *Beichtbüchlein des Magisters Johannes Wolff (Lupi), ersten Pfarrers an der St. Peterskirche zu Frankfurt a. M. 1453–1468* (Giessen, Töpelmann, 1907, pp. xi, 263); A. Kern, *Deutsche Hofordnungen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, II. (Berlin, Weidmann, 1907, pp. xvi, 263); W. Friedensburg, *Legation des Kardinals Sfondrato, 1547–1548* [Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland, 1533–1559, X., in the series conducted by the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome] (Berlin, A. Barth, 1907, pp. xlviii, 734); A. Veress, *Carrillo Alfonz, Jezsuita-atya Levelezése és Iratái, 1591–1618* [Monumenta Hungariae Historica], 370 letters and papers by Alfonso Carrillo, a Spanish Jesuit, collected from thirty-two archives of Europe, principally from the Vatican, and written in Latin, Italian, and Spanish (Budapest, Académie, 1906, pp. lii, 739); Rudolf Graf Khevenhüller Metsch and H. Schlitter, *Aus der Zeit Maria Theresias: Tagebuch des Fürsten Johann Josef Khevenhüller Metsch, Obersthofmeisters der Kaiserin (1742–1776)* [Society for the Modern History of Austria] (Vienna, Holzhausen, 1907, pp. 310).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Steinacker, *Uber Stand und Aufgaben der Ungarischen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXVIII. 2); A. Karll, *Hamburger Verkehrswesen bis zur Mitte des 17 Jahrhunderts* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, V. 3); A. Nägle, *Hat Kaiser Maximilian I. im Jahre 1507 Papst werden wollen?* II. (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVIII. 2); H. Barge, *Luther und Karlstadt in Wittenberg* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIX. 2); B. Duhr, *Zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens aus Münchener Archiven und Bibliotheken*, III. (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXVIII. 2); C. Varrentrapp, *Rankes Historisch-politische Zeitschrift und das Berliner Politische Wochenblatt* (Historische Zeitschrift, XCIX. 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

An interesting endeavor to make a medieval Dutch city live again by learned description is *Een Bezoek aan een Nederlandsche Stad in*

de Veertiende Eeuw (*Deventer*), by Dr. F. Buitenrust Hettema and Mr. A. Telting of the Royal Archives of the Netherlands (Hague, Nijhoff, pp. 193).

The task of classifying and indexing the 7,000 volumes of records left by the Dutch administration in Ceylon, has been entrusted to Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, archivist to the Ceylon government.

Under the editorship of M. Heeres the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal- ende Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië has begun the publication of a *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum*, which will be of great importance for the study of the history of Dutch expansion in the East Indies. A complete collection of the contracts and treaties concluded by the Dutch in the East Indies up to 1811 is intended. The first of the four volumes extends from 1596 to 1650.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The first volume of *Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennem Öresund, 1497–1660* (Copenhagen, Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1906) by Nina Ellinger Bang, includes statistical tables regarding the size, direction of voyage, freight (ballast or cargo), and month of sailing of more than 400,000 ships that passed through the Sound from 1497 to 1660. The preface, of which there is a French translation, contains a history of the accounts of the payment of Sound dues.

The house of Picard has published an authorized French translation with a preface by G. Schlumberger of an *Essai sur la Civilisation Byzantine* (Paris, 1907, pp. 394), by Professor D. C. Hesseling of Leyden.

The latest volume in the series of *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte*, now being edited by Professor Lamprecht, is the second volume of Professor R. F. Kaindl's *Geschichte der Deutschen in den Karpathenländern* (Gotha, Perthes, pp. xii, 421), covering the history of the Germans in Hungary and Transylvania to 1763 and in Wallachia and Moldavia to 1774.

A contribution to the diplomatic history of the Roumanians is made by M. Alexandre A. C. Sturdza in the sumptuous volume *Règne de Michel Sturdza, Prince Régnant de Moldavie, 1834–1849* (Paris, Plon, 1907, pp. 450), which includes many documents that throw light on the history of the Eastern Question during that period, and numerous portraits.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

Mr. Waldo G. Leland of the Carnegie Institution began work in Paris in July upon the preparation of a guide to the materials for American history in Parisian archives. Professor Herbert E. Bolton at the same time began the preparation of a similar volume in Mexico.

Professor W. H. Allison, devoting the summer to his searches of the archives of religious denominations and societies and of denominational seminaries and colleges, has nearly completed his inventory of what they contain for American religious history. Mr. Pérez's *Guide to the Materials for American History in Cuban Archives* has appeared, and is noticed on another page. Professor Shepherd's volume for Spain is in the press. When composition had already begun upon the first volume of Professor Andrews's *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States to 1783 in London Archives*, etc., word was received that the authorities of the Public Record Office had entered upon a total rearrangement of the Colonial Office Papers, naturally the largest element in that volume. As this process of rearrangement will not be completed in less than a year, progress upon the volume is for the present suspended; the second volume however may be issued earlier. Dr. Marcus W. Jernegan, formerly of the University of Chicago, will be a member of the staff of the Department of Historical Research during the coming academic year, during Mr. Leland's absence.

Dr. E. C. Richardson's bibliography of writings on American history issued in 1902, and Professor McLaughlin's volume for 1903 published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, have not, it is familiar, been followed by volumes covering the books, pamphlets, and articles produced in subsequent years. Arrangements have now been perfected, however, whereby a volume for 1906, prepared on Mr. McLaughlin's plan under the supervision of J. F. Jameson, will be issued early in 1908, to be followed as promptly as is practicable by similar volumes for 1907 and subsequent years. A group of historical societies and individual guarantors has agreed to sustain the project for five years.

In the series of "Original Narratives of Early American History" the fourth volume, *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*, edited by Mr. W. L. Grant, appeared in June, the fifth, *Narratives of Early Virginia*, edited by President L. G. Tyler, late in September. The sixth, Bradford's *History of Plimmoth Plantation*, edited by Hon. W. T. Davis of Plymouth, is expected to appear in November. The manuscript of Dr. Hosmer's edition of Winthrop (the seventh and eighth volumes of the series) is completed. The ninth will be *Narratives of New Netherland*, edited by Mr. A. J. H. van Laer of Albany, archivist of the state of New York; the tenth, Captain Edward Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England*, edited by J. F. Jameson.

The American Antiquarian Society has entrusted to Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, the editorial preparation of its proposed volumes of royal proclamations respecting America.

The Library of Congress has put forth a third issue of its list of books (pp. 157), partly historical, on immigration into the United States. Professor John R. Commons's *Races and Immigrants in America* (Mac-

millan) should be mentioned as one of the latest important books on the subject.

Volume I. (A to E) of Dr. T. L. Bradford's *Bibliographer's Manual of American History*, edited and revised by Mr. Stan. V. Henkels, is now out. The *Manual* is to consist of five volumes and will contain "an account of all state, territory, town and county histories relating to the United States, with verbatim copies of their titles, and useful bibliographical notes, together with the prices at which they have been sold for the last forty years, with index by title and by states".

The seventh volume of the *Old South Leaflets*, nos. 151–175 (Boston, Directors of the Old South Work, 1907, pp. 472) contains Commodore Perry's official report of his landing in Japan, the Massachusetts "Body of Liberties", the New England Confederation, *A Relation of the Successeful Beginnings of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation*, Penn's letter descriptive of Pennsylvania (1683), the "Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina", and other interesting documents and extracts.

Among the papers and addresses presented at the fifteenth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society, held at Newport, Rhode Island, on July 4 and 5, were the following: Dr. Cyrus Adler, "A Contemporary Memorial relating to Damages to Spanish Interests in America done by Jews of Holland (1634)"; Edmund H. Abrahams, "A few Facts relative to the Sheftall Family of Georgia"; Albert M. Friedenberg, "The Influence of the German Revolutionary Movements of 1848–1849 on the Jews of America"; Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, "Sectarianism in the State Constitutions of the United States"; Hon. David E. Heineman, "Notes on Early Jewish Wayfarers in the Northwest"; Leon Hühner, "Some Additional Notes on the History of the Jews of Georgia in Colonial Times", "Aaron Lopez, a Merchant Prince of Colonial Rhode Island", and "Some Jewish Associates of John Brown"; Samuel Oppenheim, "The First Settlement of the Jews at Newport".

The American Catholic Historical Society has secured from the archiepiscopal archives in Quebec copies of all letters which might throw light on the development of Catholic activity during the early days of the church in the United States. Some account of these archives is given by the archivist, the Abbé Lionel St. George Lindsay, in the *Records* of the society for March, and a selection from them, the correspondence between Bishop Plessis of Quebec and Bishop Flaget of Bardstown, Kentucky (1811 to 1833), is there printed.

The two most recent issues of the "Johns Hopkins University Studies" are both valuable historical contributions. In *The Monroe Mission to France, 1794–1796* (pp. 104), Professor Beverly W. Bond, jr., has brought to bear upon his subject much material from the diplomatic archives of the Department of State and from the Monroe Papers in the Library of Congress. The other issue is part II. of Professor Ber-

nard C. Steiner's *Maryland During the English Civil Wars* (pp. 118), part I. of which was published during the past year. The monograph closes with an account of the assembly of 1649 and its famous act "concerning religion".

Professor Elmer C. Griffith of William Jewell College has just brought out (Chicago, Scott, Foresman, and Company, pp. 124) an able and thorough study of *The Rise and Development of the Gerrymander*. He shows that, far from having been invented in 1812, the practice is nearly as old in America as popular election by districts, and is represented by more than a dozen earlier instances. He traces its history, and the history of efforts to prevent it, to 1840, and rightly dwells upon its vast importance as a corrupter of American politics.

The College Curriculum in the United States, by Dr. Louis Franklin Snow (Macmillan, pp. 186), is a careful and intelligent historical study of the development of the college curriculum from the founding of Harvard to the present day.

The *Magazine of History* for May contains the fourth paper of A. Franklin Ross on "The History of Lotteries in New York", and the second paper of the late General Wager Swayne on "The Fruition of the Ordinance of 1787". Other articles of interest are: "The *Sassacus* and the *Albemarle*", by Edgar Holden, M.D., U. S. N., and "The Moravians at Onondaga, N. Y.", by Rev. W. M. Beauchamp. Among the original documents is a letter of Colonel Israel Keith, dated September 26, 1776, describing the retreat after the battle of Long Island. The June number concludes Mr. Ross's study, and prints an interesting collection of papers relating to St. Clair's defeat, lately obtained by Mr. C. M. Burton of Detroit. They were found by Indians on the body of General Richard Butler and preserved among the Wyandottes till now.

The publisher of the *Magazine of History*, Mr. William Abbatt, announces that he will issue, probably in June and December of each year, an extra number of the *Magazine*, each consisting of one or more scarce items of Americana. The first of these numbers is to comprise two pamphlets by the late George H. Moore, entitled "Washington as an Angler", and "Historical Notes on the Employment of Negroes in the American Army of the Revolution".

The July issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* is devoted to "American Colonial Policy and Administration". Of the numerous papers there printed the majority relate to conditions and institutions in the Philippines. Two may be mentioned as possessing historical interest, the annual address delivered by Senator Albert J. Beveridge on "The Development of a Colonial Policy for the United States", and the address of Mr. James Bryce, the British ambassador, entitled "Some Difficulties in Colonial Government encountered by Great Britain and how they have been met".

ITEMS CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED

Under the title *The Call of the West* (Scribner) Mr. Sidney Lee presents America in the process of revelation to the mind of the Englishman of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Since our last issue the Burrows Brothers Company has brought out the first volume (pp. xv, 655) of the *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*, which Father Thomas Hughes, S. J., has for a dozen years been preparing. The second volume will consist of accompanying documents for the province and period (Maryland to 1645) embraced in the first or narrative volume. As the work is one of the great series commanded by the late general of the Jesuits, intended to cover the history of the Society in each of its general assistancies (of which volume I. of Father Astrain's *Historia de la Compañia de Jesús en la Asistencia de España* has already appeared), its learned author has had the fullest opportunities for examination of all Jesuit archives.

The New England Society of Brooklyn proposes to issue a volume containing all the various narratives of English voyages to the New England coast between 1600 and 1620, including the writings of Captain John Smith relating to New England.

During the autumn the Macmillan Company will publish *A Century of Colonial History*, 1660–1760, the second volume of Professor Edward Channing's *History of the United States*.

Volume III. of E. M. Avery's *History of the United States and its People* has come from the press of the Burrows Brothers Company.

A series of reprints, in limited editions, called the "Indian Captivities Series" is being undertaken by the H. R. Huntting Company (Springfield, Mass.). The first issue gives us *A Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Johnson*, reproduced from the third edition, published in 1814 at Windsor, Vermont. The volume has a historical introduction by Mr. Horace W. Bailey.

It is announced that the Macmillan Company are preparing to publish a work on *British Colonial Policy, 1754–1765*, by Dr. George L. Beer of Columbia University.

It is announced that Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company will shortly issue the third part of Sir George Trevelyan's *The American Revolution*, covering the period of Saratoga, Brandywine, and Valley Forge.

The latest history of the American Revolution, two volumes in extent, published in London by Messrs. Brown, Langham, and Company, is entitled *England and America, 1763–1783: the History of a Reaction*, by Miss Mary A. M. Marks.

Professor Justin H. Smith of Dartmouth College has brought out a history in two volumes of the American efforts to secure Canada at the time of the Revolution, *Our Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony* (Putnam).

Mr. Owen Wister has written a book entitled *The Seven Ages of Washington*, aiming to condense "within the smallest reasonable space a comprehensive estimate of Washington's life, character and significance". It will be published by the Macmillan Company during the autumn.

George H. Richmond and Son of New York have published *Fifty-Five Letters of George Washington to Benjamin Lincoln, 1777–1799*. "briefly described, with foreword", by A. J. Bowden.

A recent number of the *Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware* relates to the "Life, Character and Public Services of Commodore Jacob Jones".

The correspondence of John McLean, postmaster-general 1823–1829, associate justice of the United States Supreme Court 1830–1861, has been acquired by the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress.

Professor Justin H. Smith of Dartmouth College is engaged upon an elaborate history of the war between the United States and Mexico. He would feel greatly obliged for any information about manuscripts or out-of-the-way published material bearing upon the subject, and may be addressed at 270 Beacon street, Boston.

McClure, Phillips, and Company will shortly publish in two illustrated volumes the *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, which have appeared serially in *McClure's Magazine*.

A Correct History of the John Brown Invasion at Harper's Ferry is the title of a work compiled by the late Captain John H. Zittle, said to have been an eye-witness to many of the occurrences, and edited by his widow. The book bears the imprint of the Mail Publishing Company of Hagerstown, Maryland.

Messrs. George W. Jacobs and Company have added to their "American Crisis Biographies" *Judah P. Benjamin*, by Pierce Butler.

A recent volume of the *Papers of the Military Society of Massachusetts* deals with the Shenandoah and Appomattox campaigns. The several papers in the volume are written mainly by officers who participated in those campaigns.

Mr. William J. Lauck's *The Causes of the Panic of 1893* (Boston, Houghton) is a conscientious and useful essay which has won the prize offered by Messrs. Hart, Schaffner, and Marx.

Captain H. H. Sargent, U. S. A., has just published (Chicago, McClurg) a history of *The Campaign of Santiago de Cuba* in three volumes.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The Legislature of Maine at its last session established the office of State Historian, and Governor Cobb gave the appointment to the Rev. Henry S. Burrage of Togus, a member of the Maine Historical Society, and the author of a number of historical works. Little has hitherto been done in collecting and arranging the archives of the state, or the analogous materials in Europe and Massachusetts for the period before 1820, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Burrage will call the attention of the Legislature to the important work that should be done in this direction.

On August 29 the Maine Historical Society celebrated at Popham Beach the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Popham colony at the mouth of the Kennebec river. Addresses were delivered by Hon. James P. Baxter, president of the Maine Historical Society, and others, followed by the unveiling of a memorial on the site of the fort erected by the colonists, with the inscription: "The first English Colony on the shores of New England was founded here August 29th, 1607."

The second part, New Hampshire, of Miss A. R. Hasse's *Index of Economic Material in Documents of the States*, has been brought out by the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

The full text of the instructions issued to Edward Cranfield, lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, in 1682, has been discovered in the archives at London and a copy has been received by the editor of the *New Hampshire State Papers*. Neither the original nor any complete copy had hitherto been known for more than two hundred years, and the text now discovered puts a new light upon many matters of the early constitutional history of New Hampshire. The evidence that the laws enacted in the presidency of John Cutt were in fact repealed, is particularly novel and important.

Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin, and Company have recently issued *Holderness; an Account of the Beginnings of a New Hampshire Town*, by George Hodges.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has just published the fourteenth volume of the *Acts and Resolves of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay*, containing resolves, orders, votes, etc., for the years 1747-1753.

Historical Sketch of the Finances and Financial Policy of Massachusetts, from 1780 to 1905, by Charles Jesse Bullock, is a recent number of the Publications of the American Economic Association.

Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin, and Company publish this autumn a volume on *The Life and Times of Stephen Higginson* by Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and a *Life of William Pitt Fessenden* by General Francis Fessenden.

The thirty-seventh record volume issued by the city of Boston embraces the records of town meetings from 1814 to 1822.

The July number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* contains additional installments of the Revolutionary letters written to Colonel Timothy Pickering, and of the Salem town records.

The address by Daniel Davenport on the two-hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the town of New Milford, Connecticut (June 17), has been issued in a neat pamphlet of twenty pages. The author points out the conditions, principally the "need for more land", which induced the planting of this settlement in a region "as remote and inaccessible to the rest of the Colony as were Indiana and Illinois to our fathers in the middle of the last century".

The governor of New York has appointed to the office of state historian Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, heretofore of the Lenox Library, a scholar of extensive repute for precisely those qualities and acquirements which the office demands. In his hands it is certain to be made a means of great improvement to the documentation of New York history. We understand that his first large undertaking will be a series comprising the *Minutes of the Executive Council of New York*, from 1668, together with such original petitions, correspondence, and other documents as are necessary to explain the council's transactions. An index to the volumes of *Public Papers of George Clinton* is in preparation.

Mr. Paltsits is desirous of procuring the following publications of his department, issued by his predecessor, which are out of print and needed to make up complete sets. Libraries or individuals having duplicates to spare, are requested to communicate with him (Albany, New York), in order that he may arrange for their transmission and acknowledgment. Only perfect copies are desired, and only the volumes specified: *Colonial Series*, vol. I. (1896); *Clinton Papers*, vols. I. (1899); II. (1900); III. (1900); V. (1901); *Tompkins Papers*, vol. I. (1898); *Ecclesiastical Records*, vols. I. and II. (1901); *New York and the War with Spain* (1903).

The Buffalo Historical Society has in press volumes X. and XI. of its series of *Publications*, containing the speeches, miscellaneous writings and correspondence of Millard Fillmore. Of marked interest are numerous letters, written by Mr. Fillmore to Thurlow Weed regarding political issues, especially in New York state. These letters and many others secured for the collection have never been published. The editor desires to learn of any person or institution possessing Fillmore manuscripts. Communications should be addressed to the secretary of the society, Historical Building, Buffalo.

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History* for July contains an extended article by Mr. Sydney G. Fisher examining "The Twenty-eight Charges

against the King in the Declaration of Independence", a journal kept in 1768 at Fort Chartres and on a voyage thence to New Orleans by John Jennings, and further extracts from the papers of General Persifor Frazer and from General Washington's household account-books. The society has received a notable addition to its materials for the history of the first Bank of the United States.

The *German American Annals* for May–June and July–August, 1907, contain the first installments of a valuable and most scholarly "Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius" by Professor Marion D. Learned of the University of Pennsylvania.

The May issue of the *Publications of the Southern History Association* contains portions of the correspondence of T. R. R. Cobb, 1860–1862, principally relating to secession; and portions of the correspondence of Francis Marion with Nathaniel Greene. The former is continued in the July number.

Origin and Government of the District of Columbia (pp. 224), has been issued from the office of the Superintendent of Documents.

The June issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains several articles of interest, among which may be mentioned "The Battle of North Point", by Captain Frederick M. Colston; "The Parish Records of Maryland", by Henry F. Thomson; "New Light on some Maryland Loyalists", by Professor Bernard C. Steiner; and "Maryland's Part in the Expedition against Carthagena", by Clayton C. Hall. There is also a second installment of the correspondence of Governor Eden, and three documents relating to William Clayborne and Kent Island.

The July number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* is constituted mainly of continued articles: "Journals of the Council of Virginia in Executive Sessions, 1737–1763"; "Virginia Legislative Papers"; "Virginia Colonial Records" (miscellaneous, 1621–1623, and a few relating to the servants' plot of 1663); "Revolutionary Army Orders", 1778–1779; also additional papers concerning Nathaniel Bacon, the rebel.

Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, "an inquiry into the origin of the higher planting class, together with an account of the habits, customs, and diversions of the people" (pp. 268), by Philip Alexander Bruce, has been brought out by the Bell Book and Stationery Company of Richmond.

The Virginia Historical Society has completed a manuscript index to a volume containing the minutes of the General Court of Virginia from 1670 to 1676.

Mr. Thomas Nelson Page gathers together a number of essays on the early life and history of Virginia under the title *The Old Dominion: her Making and her Manners* (Scribners).

The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, a monograph by J. W. Wayland, has been privately printed at Charlottesville, Virginia (pp. 272).

The North Carolina Historical Commission, recently re-organized by the election of Hon. J. Bryan Grimes, chairman, and Mr. R. D. W. Connor of Raleigh, secretary, has in press a volume entitled: *Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina, 1900–1905*, compiled and edited by W. J. Peele and Clarence H. Poe, and a *Documentary History of Public Education in North Carolina from 1800 to 1840*, compiled and edited by Charles L. Coon. Dr. J. G. de R. Hamilton, associate professor of history in the University of North Carolina, is editing for the commission the private letters of Governor Jonathan Worth, governor of North Carolina from 1866 to 1868. The commission has caused to be copied the records of St. Paul's vestry, Edenton, N. C., from January 3, 1714/5 to October 15, 1776, and is proceeding with the copying of the executive letter-books of the governors of North Carolina. Those of Governors Spaight, Ashe, Davie, Williams, Turner, and Stone, 1792–1810, have been copied.

The Historical Commission of South Carolina has printed the *Journal of the General Assembly* for the period March 26–April 11, 1776, edited by Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr. (pp. 89).

The *South Carolina Historical Magazine* for July contains letters of Lafayette to Henry Laurens, 1778, a most interesting statement by Laurens explanatory of his signature to the Association of June, 1775, and a curious correspondence of the Brailsford family, *ca.* 1727.

The Georgia Historical Society has published as volume VI. of its *Collections* "The Letters of Hon. James Habersham, 1756–1775". The edition is a limited one and for the exclusive use of members of the society.

Dr. Dunbar Rowland, director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, has undertaken the preparation and publication of the writings and speeches of Jefferson Davis, and is actively collecting materials for the purpose. At the same time Professor Walter L. Fleming, now of Louisiana State University, is engaged in writing a biography of Davis, and would be glad to be informed respecting details of his career not already matters of common knowledge, and respecting letters, diaries, and other documentary materials relating to his life. Dr. Rowland may be addressed at Jackson, Mississippi, Professor Fleming at Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Dr. P. Heinrich has just published in Paris (Guilmoto, pp. lxxx, 298) *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes, 1717–1731*; and also (the same publisher, pp. 80) a brief monograph entitled *L'Abbé Prévost et la Louisiane*, in which he discusses the historical value of *Manon Lescaut*.

The *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* for July contains the second installment of Mr. James Newton Baskett's paper on the route of Cabeza de Vaca, a valuable account of the Spanish mission records at San Antonio, by Professor Herbert E. Bolton, and "A Glimpse of Albert Sidney Johnston through the Smoke of Shiloh".

The *Quarterly Publication* of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio continues in the January-March issue the publication of the Torrence Papers begun in the July-September number. In the April-June issue are printed selections from the "Gallipolis Papers", which are in the possession of the society. This selection of the papers is arranged and edited by Theodore T. Belote of the University of Cincinnati, who has in preparation a monograph on "The Scioto Speculation and the French Settlement at Gallipolis".

A carefully prepared paper on "The Western Indians in the Revolution", by Wallace Notestein, which was awarded (1905) the annual prize offered by the Ohio Sons of the Revolution for an historical essay by an Ohioan, appears in the July issue of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*. Another article of interest is by Benjamin F. Prince on "The Rescue Case of 1857", the case of Addison White, a fugitive slave from Kentucky. The *Quarterly* also prints three journals of Rev. James Smith, who made a tour from Powhatan county, Virginia, into Kentucky in 1783, into Kentucky and the Northwest Territory in 1795 and 1797. A sketch of Mr. Smith, by Josiah Morrow, accompanies the journals.

Among the numerous papers printed in the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* for the year 1906 (Springfield, 1907, pp. xvii, 437) we note the following: "The Earliest Courts of the Illinois Country", by George A. Dupuy; "Negro Servitude in Illinois", by N. Dwight Harris; "Bourbonnais; or the Early French Settlement in Kankakee County", by Charles B. Campbell; "The Mormon Settlement in Illinois", by Orville F. Berry; "The Icarian Community of Nauvoo, Illinois", by Mrs. I. G. Miller; "The Armament of Fort Chartres", by Dr. J. F. Snyder; "The Genesis of the Republican Party in Illinois", by Paul Selby; "A Study of the Development of Opinion in the East with regard to Lincoln (before 1860)", by Lucia A. Stevens. The volume contains also the paper, mentioned in these pages in July, on "The Finding of the Kaskaskia Records", by Professor Clarence W. Alvord. Under Mr. Alvord's editorship the State Historical Library has also issued, as volume II. of *Illinois Historical Collections* (pp. clvi, 663), the Cahokia records of the period 1778–1790.

The Minnesota Historical Society has begun the printing of volume XII. of its *Collections*, comprising papers and addresses read before the society in the last two years. It will also shortly publish a thirteenth volume, *Lives of the Governors of Minnesota*, territorial and state, by

General James H. Baker, who has personally known them all. Other works in preparation are *The Archaeology of Minnesota*, by Professor N. H. Winchell, dealing with aboriginal mounds and other remains; a reference-book of Minnesota biography; one of Minnesota geographic names, giving their origin, date, and meaning; and a life of Governor Alexander Ramsey.

A general gathering of persons interested in local historical work will take place at Cincinnati on November 29 and 30. The programme of this "Central Ohio Valley History Conference" will make provision for the interests of the local historical societies, of the teachers of history, and of the patriotic societies. The secretary of the committee of arrangements is Dr. Frank P. Goodwin, 3435 Observatory Place, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The July number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains an article of some length by Professor F. I. Herriott on "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln". One section of the article is devoted to an examination of the question whether Iowa's delegates were (as asserted in a recent work) "on the trade".

The State Historical Society of North Dakota contemplates the publication of the log-book of Captain C. J. Atkins, pilot on the Missouri River, 1863–1868.

The *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for March, the last issue we have received, is chiefly marked by a valuable article by T. W. Davenport, "Recollections of an Indian Agent" (1862–1863). It also contains a reprint of Floyd's report of January, 1821, on the Oregon settlements and the expediency of occupying the Columbia River.

An index to the first ten volumes of the *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada* (1896–1905), prepared by H. H. Langton, M.A., librarian of the University of Toronto, has appeared from the press of Morang and Company. The volume consists of three parts—an index of authors (pp. 94), an index of subjects (pp. 92), and an index of periodicals and societies' publications (pp. 10).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. B. Hart, *Growth of American Theories of Popular Government* (American Political Science Review, August); R. D. W. Connor, *The Settlement of Cape Fear* (South Atlantic Quarterly, July); T. J. Middleton, *Andrew Johnson and the Homestead Law* (Sewanee Review, July); F. T. Hill, *Decisive Battles of the Law: Dred Scott vs. Sanford* (Harper's, July); Carl Schurz, *The Battle of Gettysburg* (McClure's, July); Carl Schurz, *The Battle of Missionary Ridge* (McClure's, September); W. H. Crook, *Lincoln's Last Day* (Harper's, September); J. Moncure, *John M. Daniel, the Editor of the Examiner* (Sewanee Review, July).